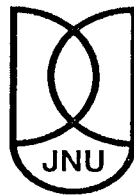


Yaudheya Coins: Exploring Numismatics as a Source of History

(c. 300 B.C to c. A.D. 300)

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Master of Philosophy



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Certificate

It is certified that the dissertation titled 'Yaudheya Coins: Exploring Numismatics as a Source of History (c. 300 B.C to c. A.D. 300)' is an original work by Mamta Dwivedi submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in partial fulfilment for award of the degree of Master of Philosophy. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or to any other University to the best of our knowledge.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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॥ श्री महासरस्वत्याः करकमलयोः समर्पितमिदम् पुष्पम् ॥

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Mamta Dwivedi

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List of Abbreviations

<i>ASIAR:</i>	Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report
<i>BMC:</i>	Allan, J, 1936, <i>Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India</i> .
<i>CAI:</i>	Cunningham, Alexander, 1891, <i>Coins of Ancient India</i> .
<i>CHI:</i>	Comprehensive History Of India: The Mauryas and Satvahanas (325 B.C.-A.D. 300).
<i>CII:</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
<i>CIM:</i>	Smith, Vincent A, 1906, <i>Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum</i> , Calcutta.
<i>EI:</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>J.A.S.B:</i>	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>J.R.A.S.:</i>	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JNSI:</i>	Journal of Numismatic Society of India
<i>N.C.:</i>	Numismatic Chronicle
<i>Num. Suppl.:</i>	Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>PMC:</i>	Punch marked coins.
<i>Seminar Papers:</i>	Singh, Jai Prakash and Nisar Ahmad (ed). 1977, <i>Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India (C. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.)</i> , Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

Introduction

'...coins, grow dear as they grow old; It is the rust we value, not the gold.'

Alexander Pope (1737)

The earliest coins, as both remains and participants of past, attract the interest of both academicians and hobbyists. The earliest numismatic studies were the result of personal interests of the British antiquarians in exploring the mysterious and unexplored Indian past. The legends and names on coins enabled them to not only establish a more formalised political chronology of India's past, but also to explore missing links within the dynasties. The study of coinage and the methodology of using them as source have developed over a period of more than 150 years of exploration, classification and researches. The methods of studying coins become more scientific, systematic and specific over time. The new researches question the earlier methods of studying coins and their analysis. However, it could only be conducted on the basis of data collected, assembled and systematised by previous scholars.

It has been an arena of hot debate, whether a numismatist is an historian or should numismatics be taken as a different field altogether.¹ Some believe that numismatists are more or less historians as they are looking into the coins to ask questions that reveal information about the time of their issuance and circulation. While others may deny this, stating that the numismatists are rather hobbyists with an entirely different purpose of dealing with coins. However, it cannot be denied that history and numismatics often share

¹ Not much published work can be found in this regard, however, one can see the difference and distancing in the works of numismatists and historians. Such a discussion titled 'Is Numismatist a Historian', can be found on the South Asian Coins site, <http://www215.pair.com/sacoins/> (29-01-10).

common paths. In the context of study of the Early Indian coins, we often find that there are often differing perspectives towards coins. The numismatists are engaged in identifying, dating, classifying, cataloguing and placing the discovered coins, while their scope, purpose and placement of these coins in the larger structure and system, if any, through narrative is not clear. They, however, engage with the primary data, i.e. the coins themselves – whereas historians often rely on published data.

Grierson² pointed out that historians and numismatists largely have to deal with probabilities, and in such case it is possible that one estimate can be different from that of others, just like scholars of same field may also have differences. However, when the difference that arises in the case where more than one disciplines is involved, “other factors of a less legitimate character come into play.” One of the reasons why these are less legitimate, according to him, is that the differences arise from failure to make oneself conversant with the background of other discipline.

Numismatography and its Changing Relation with History

The study of coins in India appears to have evolved through several phases. In 1950s, J.N. Tiwari³ made first attempt to analyse numismatic study in India. He divided the study of coins in the period till 1950s in four phases. There were important changes post 1950 also, as how the scholars used and perceived coins as sources. The following are what can be considered to be six phases⁴.

² Grierson, P. 1962, ‘Presidential Address 1961-2: Numismatics and History’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 2: i-xvii

³ Tiwari, J.N., ‘Pre-Mohammadan Coinage’ in *A Survey of Indian Numismatography: 1738-1950.*: 1-28.

⁴ The time period does not represent a strict compartmentalisation, rather it represents the wider trends.

- 1) **Till 1850:** Beginning of Indian Numismatography and the period of 'Discoveries and Decipherment'.
- 2) **1850-1900:** Period of classification, cataloguing and survey.
- 3) **1900-1940:** Various Institutions and societies came up that published and discussed about the found and deciphered coins. The journals were *Numismatic Supplement* and *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Numismatic society was also founded in this phase. Study of coins became a part of history writing.
- 4) **1940-1960s:** Period of new discoveries and researches, with involvement of Sahni, etc, who introduced new approaches towards studying coins, by incorporating mint studies, die and mould examinations.
- 5) **1970 to 1980:** Economic history writing came up where scholars studied the role of coins and money in society. The concept of urbanism and urban decay came up in the writings of scholars. The study of coins became scientific, when its composition of metal etc., became issues of interest.
- 6) **Post 1980:** Though the descriptive nature of work continued in this phase, scholars have started looking into new methodologies of studying coins, and also broader questions, like looking at purpose and importance of coinage in a society. The methodology and approach towards the study of coins shows greater inter-disciplinary approach as the historians explore the scope of numismatics as source; and numismatists are exploring the historical processes and tradition.

The findings before 1830s often went unaccounted for and rested in the private collections of the finders. Most of the earliest finds were stray surface finds and report about

the region and condition of most of the coins that were found are unavailable or lost to us. The founding of Asiatic Society in 1784 by James Prinsep provided for the establishment of an organisation that became centre of interest for the antiquarians of the period. Also the successful decipherment of the two forgotten scripts Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī had revived the approach towards coins, as with it many new names of kings and dynasties of ancient India came up. Prinsep's collection of coins was also the most varied and he identified large number of coins. His studies and essays were published by E. Thomas in his edited compilation *Essays in Indian Antiquities* in 1858.

The adventurous curiosity of other British officials and their findings of Greek and Scythian coins opened interest among British officials.⁵ For example, Col. J. Tod had employed persons to search for coins from Mathura and other important cities. By 1840s, Alexander Cunningham had started working on more scientific and comparatively a more modern method of uncovering the past and with time acquired authority in his methods through extensive travels, and explorations. Through his extensive travels, he found a large number of coins, and classified the findings into ancient and medieval coins. However, it was the search for Alexander's cities and the remnants of the Greeks that motivated a search for archaeological relics in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, as is evident from reports of French military officials at Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court⁶ and Alexander Cunningham's reports⁷. Cunningham was the first to take a definite step toward the study of ancient Indian coins. He attempted to ascribe regions to the various coins and made attempts

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Lafont, Jean Marie, 2006, "Conducting Excavations and Collecting Coins: Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Kingdom", in *Coins in India: Power and Communication*, ed. by Ray, Himanshu Prabha, Marg Publications: 98-107.

⁷ Cunningham, Alexander, A Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIV (1882, reprint 2000); A Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84, Report of Archaeological Survey of India Vol. XXIII (1887, reprint 2000).

to classify them accordingly. His attributions are almost commonly accepted by the scholars even when his reasons for them are not on record. His works thus describe the coins of indigenous origin on the basis of their locality or provenance in which he found them. His methods of study are quite unique and no scholar before or after him has carried studies on his lines. Unlike the later scholars, he did not make selective collections, rather studied everything he found and made reference to them. In case of the tribal coins, which he ascribed to the local inhabitants, he also attempted ethnographic study of the people, whom he considered, may have been associated with the issuance of the coins. Cunningham sold his coin collection to the British Museum. He also published his study *Coins of Ancient India* in 1891.

The establishment of institutions like Asiatic Society and Archaeological Survey of India in the 19th century provided a common platform for discussion and study of these coins.⁸ These institutions also acquired significant number of specimens in their collection. However, according to the records, the coins that were collected were rarely arranged in classes and were put in the cabinets in the order of their receipt. Similar was the case of Calcutta Museum⁹. It was in 1904, as Vincent Smith mentions in his study, that he was invited to classify and arrange the ancient coins and thus the coins were for the first time categorised and classified according to various parameters. Smith's classification and catalogue was published in 1906 as *Coins of Ancient India*. This work was divided by him in three parts. The first part deals with the early foreign dynasties and the Guptas, which included the coins that exhibit clear traces of Hellenic influence on the basis of their aesthetic superiority. Second part is devoted to the ancient coins of Indian types. Third

⁸ The two institutions were very different in nature. While the former was a private body of interested scholars, the latter was set up by the state.

⁹ Smith, V.A, 1906, *Coins of Ancient India*.

category incorporates the medieval coins of Northern and Central India. He divided these parts further into twenty four sections. He was first to use the terms like 'local coinage' and 'tribal coins', for coins that he described as local and hence not indicating 'Greek' influence. He used the study of coins primarily to discover the political history of India. The earliest scholars found coins, especially the inscribed specimens, an important and reliable way of finding missing links in the dynastic history. Vincent Smith also wrote *The Oxford History of India* published in 1919. It concentrated around Alexander's invasion and traced the rule of the Indo-Greek rulers on the basis of the Greek sources along with their coinage.

After Smith's catalogue, other museums also invited scholars to categorise and organise their collection. Scholars who catalogued the earliest coins are, H.N Wright¹⁰, E. J. Rapson¹¹, R.B.Whitehead¹², and B.B. Bidyabinod¹³.

This period saw the first work on the study of numismatic methodology by Bhandarkar.¹⁴ He insisted that traditional sources should also be considered in the study. He further challenged Smith's categorisation. He introduced the use of term '*janapada*' coins for the first time, and resented the use of the term 'tribal'. *Janapada* was a wider and more valid term for the political scenario of North India in the early Indian time period.

In 1936, John Allan¹⁵ catalogued the collection at the British Museum, which was made by Cunningham and by collectors before him. This catalogue is still considered mandatory for students of early coins. He adopted the method of classification that had been

¹⁰ Wright, H. N, 1907, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Oxford, Calcutta.

¹¹ Rapson E. J., 1908, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, etc., in the British Museum*, London.

¹² R. B. Whitehead, 1914, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, Oxford.

¹³ Bidyabinod, B.B, 1923, Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum of Calcutta: Non Muhammadan Series, Vol 1.

¹⁴ Bhandarkar, D.R., 1972, *Ancient Indian Numismatics: Carmichael Lectures. 1921*, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta.

¹⁵ Allan, J. 1936, *Coins in Ancient India*: In British Museum, London.

introduced by Smith. Unlike Cunningham, who discussed coins on the basis of their locality and geographical distribution, Smith and Allan followed the method of categorisation of the coins on the basis of their legends. It was difficult for the latter scholars to ascribe regions to coins or coin issuing groups. The reason being, that the provenance of coin finds were often not recorded. However, in case of certain coins, Allen could attribute them to an urban centre as a result of their legends mentioning a geographical region or name of a city¹⁶. In brief, it can be said that there were two main issues which dominated the study of coins in the 19th and early 20th century: one, their value for working out political history; and second, the extent to which these were influenced by Greek coinage. From mid-20th Century, the scope of use of coins for studying history appears to have broadened. So did the approach of numismatic study with the increased use of scientific methods adopted for studying coins. The study of coins took a more incorporative nature and scholars started to take a look into other related aspects, like the study of dies and moulds and the study of hoards. Birbal Sahni's¹⁷ contribution is of importance as he was amongst the first scholars to have emphasised on the study of moulds and dies. He has examined the moulds found at Eran, Rohtak, Taxila, Mathura, Ataranjikhhera, Sanchi, Kondapur, Sunet, Kashi, Nalanda and Kadakala. Sahni had pointed out¹⁸, and is also agreed by Thakur¹⁹ that the moulds were more popular with the counterfeiters, and is a simpler method for coin manufacturing. Scholars started adopting more scientific techniques of studying metal and archaeo-

¹⁶ Tripurī coins bear the name *Tripurī* in Brāhmī character that have been identified to have belonged to early 3rd or late 2nd Century B.C. Similarly other cities that have been named in coins are Ujjaini, Eran, and Ayodhya (Ajudhe). See Cunningham's Reports, ASI, X: 16.; Allan:xcii, cxliii-cxlv.; Tripathi, R.R., 1967 'Some Seals and Sealings in the Allahabad Museum', *JNSI*, XXVIII: 210.; Lahiri, Bela, 1968, 'Typological Study of the Local Coins of Northern India' *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*.

¹⁷ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, New Delhi.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Thakur, Upendra, 'Early Indian Mints', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Dec., 1973): 270-271.

metallurgical and archaeo-chemical studies were used to explore more intrinsic information. One of the pioneering works in this field was by S. Prakash and R. Singh, *Coinage in Ancient India: A Numismatic, Archaeochemical and Metallurgical study of Ancient Indian Coins*, published in 1968. From introduction of these methods, the concepts of tracing the depreciation in the coin weight and concept of debasement came into light. Issues of debasement, counterfeiting and over-striking soon came to be used for the identification of larger trends of economic changes by historians. The area of interest of the scholars however, remained related to the gold and silver coins. The interest in studying the imperial coins resulted in detailed studies of the Indo-Greek, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta coins.

Access to more scientific information about the coins attracted the interest of the economic historians. The coins were not only used for the study of the political and dynastic history and setting chronology, but also for the economic and social aspects. It was during this period that the concepts of urbanisation, monetisation and state formation received attention of scholars and there was attempt to establish relationship between them. The study of intrinsic characteristics of the coins, such as metal used, purity of metal, and coin denomination could give information about the economy. It was in this phase when the scholars started to look into the concepts of 'monetary system' as a part of economy, where, the presence of an identifiable and precious metal-based coin groups were identified with prosperous and flourishing economy. On the other hand, debasement of coins or absence of newly struck precious metallic issues was considered as evidence of a decaying economy. D.D. Kosambi²⁰ referred to the use of the coins to understand the economic conditions, where monetisation was taken as an important criterion for urban development. D.D.

²⁰ Kosambi, D.D., 1965, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London; Kosambi, D.D., 1957, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

Kosambi's early study of coins is another important step in the methodology of studying coins. On the basis of scientific method adopted by him for studying the PMCs²¹ he points out that the alloy content in the ancient coins could vary and it was easier to maintain the weight of the coins than the content's metallic purity. Kosambi²² further points out that the make of coins PMC of different places is also not the same. His work shows that the coins can also be used to study the relation between two cities of economic or political importance. He pointed out, on the basis of the minute study of the symbols and the weights of the coins found in Taxila, that the coins of Magadha may have enjoyed a special position at Taxila in the early historic period.²³

R.S. Sharma,²⁴ in his study of Indian economic history, brought in the concept of urban-decay as a result of end in long-distance trade and 'monetary anaemia' in the post-Gupta period, and the disappearance and/or absence of the coins is considered as a determinant of agrarian based economy. The region between Sutlej and Yamuna in the early Christian era remains unattended even when it yielded a great number and variety of coins. Scholars overlooked this area and time period with a brief mention that there are 175 varieties of tribal coins.²⁵

B.D. Chattopadhyaya's contribution to numismatic studies also claims an important place of its own. His study of the coins²⁶, though particularly not of the period and region of our concern, is in relation to the epigraphic studies. Inscriptions, which are of importance to

²¹ Kosambi's studies on PMC, which had been published in different journals, ie. *Current Science*, *New Indian Antiquary*, and *Scientific American*, have been compiled into, *Indian Numismatics* in 1981.

²² See, Kosambi, D.D. 1957, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, :222-223.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Sharma, Ram Sharan, 1983, *Perspectives in social and Economic History of Early India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.; Sharma, Ram Sharan, 1987, *Urban Decay in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.

²⁵ Sharma, Ram Sharan, 1983: 180.

²⁶ Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal, 1977, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal,

the study of history of South India, help to corroborate the nature and the purpose of coins, whether of economic, political or cultural importance. Further, he appears very alert and critical in his approach as he has ascribed the currency system to the distinct 'politico-cultural' areas instead of ascribing it to various royal families and dynasties. It is because of the impermanent character and complicated power structures present in the region. He further points out that the non-dependence of the coins on the royal dynasties and authorities is indicated by the lengthy circulation period of the coins, especially of high value coins. He also hints at the great possibility of the diffused minting authority and the widespread commercial interests of mercantile communities. The political stability is thus not a criterion for the sustained economic and monetary condition.

K.M. Shrimali²⁷ examined Pañcāla coins as important source for understanding their history along with other sources. He used the coins in comparison and to contrast literary as well as epigraphic sources to not only enumerate the dynastic study but also to look into the economic, political and cultural processes of the region and the time period.

Scholars have also used coins to understand the possibilities of long distance trade in terms of bullion inflow on the basis of discovery of non-local coins in hoards along with the local issues. N.J. Mathew²⁸ suggested analysis of hoards to find presence of coins that were not locally minted as evidence of flow. This method has been used specially in terms of the Roman gold coins found in India, in order to understand the wider networks of exchange along with local monetary systems. It is in this period, that the scholars are looking into the scope of numismatics with growing interest in the monetary history. One such example is

²⁷ Shrimali, Krishna Mohan, 1985, *History of the Pañcāla, to c. AD 550*.

²⁸ Mathew, Nicholas J., 1987, 'How Far can Coins Provide Evidence of Bullion Flows?: A Review of European Evidence from C. 1000 A.D. with Methodological and Historical Implications for India', in *Numismatics and Archaeology*, ed. by Gupta, P.L. and A.K. Jha, IIRNS, Nasik: 20-26.

Deyell's, *Living Without Silver*²⁹. Though, Deyell's study of the monetary system deals with early medieval economic history, his approach and methods can be used to understand the monetary system of other periods as well. He relates it to the larger economic conditions by comparing the monetary scenario within the subcontinent and beyond, by comparing coinage circulation inter-regionally and intra-regionally. The former never seems to suffer serious debasement while the latter does so. Where inter-regional commerce was critical, the precious metal content was more or less maintained. In circumscribed economies and politics however, the precious metal could be debased without serious loss of confidence within the unit. In any case, the author argues, silver debasement was not a symptom of demonetisation but of the deflation of prices. The economy remained monetized and vigorous throughout the period and thus, pointing that changes in the fabric or weight of the coins within a limited area may not be every time taken as a serious setback in the economy. This concept of the intra-regional and inter-regional system seems to apply as many local polities did issue copper coins that circulated within a fixed locality and were commonly available within the subcontinent. On the other hand, the Kuṣāṇa issued gold coins that circulated in a larger geographical region, i.e, almost in the northern subcontinent, and these continued to be in circulation even after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas.

Recently, scholars have studied the coins to study power relation or the nature of the state that has issued it. As Howgego³⁰ states that, the coin types assert identity of a polis, kingdom or state, which produced them or the individual responsible for it. It is a badge of a city or affirmation of states' autonomy or authority over a region. He also points out that

²⁹ Deyell, John S., 1990, *Living Without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India*:9-19.

³⁰ Howgego, Christopher, 1995, *Ancient History from Coins*, Routledge, London: 39, 62.

control over money meant control over power. The state that issued money also had the power to extract tributes, maintain army and also pay them.

The recent approach of the scholars towards numismatics is best reflected in the edited volume of *Coins in India: Power and Communication*³¹. In this volume scholars have used coins to understand gender relations and power relations of a region. The power may not refer to the political power but manifestation of power through ideological, social and economic supremacy. The work reflects the openness of the scholars in accepting coins as major source for understanding not only political and economic traditions but also ideological, religious and social scenario, as has been the trend in the recent years.

Shailendra Bhandare³² also points out that, though coins are extremely mobile in nature, “regiospecificity” is their important characteristic. Every coin has its specific region of circulation within which it is bound. He defines regiospecificity, ‘as a numismatic phenomenon in which, for a given issuing authority, the type/types of the coins it issues are peculiar to a particular geographic area’.³³ In his study, the types of coins that he examines are those that were prevalent in the Gangetic plains, as he opines that each regiospecific area is characterised by presence of one or more urban centres, like Kausambi, Ayodhya, Ahichhatra, Kampilya, Eran-Vidisha and Erich, which falls in the trade route. His study excludes the region of our interest i.e., the region between Sutlej and Yamuna, and in the process also leaves out the tribal/ *janapada* type of coins. It is doubtless that the concept of region-specificity applies to all types of coins and equally with the tribal/*janapada* coins. These were commonly in circulation within the region of the probable political influence,

³¹ Ray, H.P., ed., 2006, *Coins in India: Power and Communication*, Marg Publications.

³² Bhandare, Shailendra, 2006, ‘Numismatics and History: the Maurya-Gupta Interlude in the Gangetic Plain’, in *Between The Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, ed. Patrick Olivelle: 83,84.

³³ Ibid: 83.

however, it is not possible to divide the regions in strict compartments and draw borders. We find a very peculiar type of clustering of the provenance of the communities of Kuṇḍa, Kulutas, Auḍumbaras, Vemakis and Rājanyas in the Sutlej-Yamuna region, as is seen from the sites where the coins have been found. However, what is to be questioned is, whether *jaḥapada* coins also circulated around an urban centre or on a trade route. This is an aspect that needs to be explored, and the larger question that arises here is, whether monetisation, state formation and urbanisation are always related? To these questions, one can find answers by looking at the material-culture that might be co-related with these coins.

Further advancement to develop methodology for studying coins, and how coin is a unique source of understanding history is seen in Cribb's works.³⁴ The first stage of observation would include certain questions, examples of which have been listed by Cribb in his list of 'primary numismatic questions'³⁵. These deal with the physical attributes and technical observations of the object and are a source of information. Some of the questions that fall in this category and will be asked are: 'What is it? What is the metal used? Where was it found? What are its weight, size and shape? What are the designs? What script is used? Is it fresh or worn out? What are the symbols? What are the methods of coin manufacture etc. Once the technical information is secured, further analysis is possible through comparative study of the data and its varied interpretations are possible once the data is further arranged in various contextual patterns, like their rearrangement on the basis of their weight and scripts used for inscription symbols.

³⁴ His Presidential addresses, in *The Numismatic Chronicle* (Three of them have already been published in the issues from 2005 to 2007) deals with understanding issues about coins and money.

³⁵ See, Cribb, Joe, 2006, 'Money as Metaphor 2', Presidential Address, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 166, Royal Numismatic Society, London; table 4, pp 507.

Numismatic study is linked to historical enquiry in the form of various academic questions. In the 'deduction' step, the historical enquiry has more scope through questions. Joe Cribb³⁶, in his presidential addresses, enlisted all those possible questions whose answers would give better understanding of the past that the coins may reflect. Apart from these questions which use coins as the subject of probe, one also needs to look at external aspects and sources that appear to be contemporary to the coins. Cribb³⁷ calls this approach as the 'reciprocal academic numismatic questions', which has two aspects to it: one, that has already been discussed, is 'outgoing', i.e., investigate other disciplines through coins, the other is 'incoming', in which scholars probe the external sources and systems to gather information about the coin. For example, while 'What can coins tell us about economy?' is an outgoing question, 'what can economy tell us about coins?' is an incoming one. This stage also demands probing of external sources other than coinage, like looking into the inscriptions and texts. The area of study here, however, has little scope for probing external sources, as no contemporary textual record, like public statutes, mint records, or merchant accounts have been reported to have had reference about Yaudheyas. The limited textual information is in the form of the weight system discussed in various traditional law-books³⁸ that have been dated to a later period.

Cribb's work associated with numismatic studies has brought some issues that can be said to be out of the box, where the approach of looking at coins has widened. He tries to identify the concepts of money and coinage. One is stimulated to ask questions like: Do coins always mean money? How is money related with power? Is money synonymous with

³⁶ Cribb, Joe, 2006, 'Money as Metaphor 2', Presidential Address, *The Numismatic Chronicle*. Vol. 166, Royal Numismatic Society, London: table 2, pp. 504.

³⁷ Ibid: Table 1: 504.

³⁸ See, the discussion on traditional weight system as mentioned in *Manusmṛti* by Edward Thomas, F.R.S., 1874, in *Ancient Indian Weights*, Part 1: 11-17.

the State? Does coin only have economic importance? Cribb also suggests the examination of the 'monetary traditions' to gather better understanding of the coinage tradition in a region. The information on monetary tradition, in terms of the commodities enabling exchange and mediums of exchange can be gathered by looking at references to exchange patterns and systems in the textual sources and epigraphic sources.

Post 1990s, we see that new methods of looking at coins continue to emerge, but there are scholars who still use the traditional methods of studying these coins, and are engaged in sorting, cataloguing and doing descriptive studies. These studies have their importance as they make the data usable by scholars of other fields, who are not trained in the technicalities of handling and studying the coins. Devendra Handa's work more or less adheres to the traditional pattern of studying coins and follows Allan's categorisation. *Early Indian Coins from Sugh* (2006) and *Tribal coins of India* (2007) serves as a modern day catalogue for deeper study of copper coins or *janapada* coins.

Coins as Sources of History and Role of Collectors in Construction of Source

When coins are taken as a source for understanding history, there are certain peculiar attributes that can be ascribed to the coins. The sources are divided into two general types, as *remains* and as *tradition*. The category of *remains* is described as 'everything which remained from the past', and are of unintentional character historiographically. Sources of *tradition* type are 'everything which remained through past, passing through and being reproduced by human perception' and their usage and purpose coincide in terms that they were produced to inform contemporary and future generation historically, and are historiographically intentional. The *remains* make important source as they were intended to

fulfil a contemporary or official, legal, political or economic purpose and unlike *traditional* sources not to instruct the future generation. The coins belong to the category of 'concrete remains'. The *remains*, however, in themselves give a momentary glance of a period or a process, and do not elucidate the conditions before and after that. Here the use of *tradition* type of sources becomes important because of their narrative character which does provide information about the development.³⁹ However, when the coins which survive and remain and are found by scholars, even though their long time survival and preservation may not have been intended, the symbols, weight and appearance was very much controlled and intentional. This nature of coinage also allows us to place the coins in continuity through successive categorisation and allows us to perceive the changes and development. Even when the coins as sources provide a momentary glance, by arranging such information, it becomes possible to establish a narrative through the coins.

Coins, as sources are quite peculiar and so are their limitations, which are to be kept in mind. Numismatists have often pointed at the practical problems about studying the coins: while some are intrinsic to coins like their physical numbers and worn out condition; others depend on the external factors like collector's choice and reports of coin find. Grierson pointed out that the coins at a numismatist's disposal represent only a small proportion of those that once existed and the validity of any interpretation represent 'what a statistician would term random samples.'⁴⁰ The sources that are available to us for studying are not true representatives of the actual number of coins which may have been in circulation. The coins that we get are those which were lost at a point of time. There are, thus, certain points that are to be kept in mind when looking at coins as sources.

³⁹ Vogel, Hans Ulrich, 1996, 'Introduction', *JESHO*. Vol. 39, No. 3, Money in the Orient: 209-210.

⁴⁰ Grierson, P, 1965, 'The Interpretation of Coin Finds -I', President's Address in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol.5:

- a) The samples are extremely small, i.e., single coins or at best few hundreds of thousands.
- b) Coins available for study are only the samples of those that have been found.
- c) Coins that have been found are only a sample of those which were lost.

These reflect that, what is found is only a sample of the coins that had been originally in circulation. Even those coins that had been in circulation in particular area, for which information is available, would be only a sample of the total amount of coins issued. These may result in repeated process of sampling distortion. Apart from these, there is also direct and indirect human-interventions that might further alter the sample. Further, the private collections are subject to collectors' interest and choices. C. J. Rodger's *Coin Collecting in Northern India*, published in 1894, gives us an insight into the way the collectors made their collection, which was a result of the individual choices and interest of the collector. Even the coin collections available in the museums are the result of donations or gifts by the collectors, or based on the interests and priorities of the curator or institute. While they may prefer to collect only a particular type of coin, other types may not be of their interest. In case of the collections of the Museums, their aim is to collect the samples of variety of coins, and are generally not interested in maintaining large number of same types of coins, may often exchange the coins which are more in number than that required as sample to the type. This practice has its shortcomings as the collection would only represent the best preserved samples, while neglecting the worn out ones. Also, when the hoard gets divided among several collectors or members, it is not possible to make a quantitative and comparative study of the find. The quantity and the condition of the coin also give information that is indispensable if one is to study the monetary system. A coin in fairly

preserved state is surely a delight for a scholar of art history, however the worn coin is important if one is to study how widely and frequently it must have been in use.

One of the issues that the numismatists have generally not considered is the history and nature of collections made in the 19th and 20th century. Coins were often sold to museums and other collectors and needless to say that aesthetics and the material used were often important criteria for the price of coins. It is not surprising that a majority of coins in museum collections were of silver rather than copper. The role of the collectors directly or indirectly in the study of ancient coins is more than that has been discussed.

The early coins are found through: a) excavation of a site, b) discovery of coins in hoards or c) stray finds. Numismatic finds from excavation of a site provide direct and reliable clues about the time period to which they may have belonged. Since found in stratified layers with other antiquities of their times, they are useful in locating the area of distribution, the centre of probable occupation and area of influence (by a particular community).

The discovery of coins in hoards are also of importance as it helps to determine the time-period of its circulation and also the varieties of coins that may have been in circulation together, by looking at the coins that may have been the oldest within the hoard and the latest to be issued. Hoards consist of coins that were lost as aggregates and found as same. Numismatists consider that there may be three reasons for why hoards are buried: i) for profit, ii) for safety from thieves etc. and iii) out of fear of war or scarcity. In the first two

cases, it was only when the owner might have died suddenly that the hoard was left buried.⁴¹

Hoard are further classified⁴², into:

- a) *Collectors' Hoard.*
- b) *Accumulation Hoard:* This type of hoard is not a hoard but accumulation, which generally builds up over a period of time and may or may not be property of an individual. Example being those in sacred wells or/ and content of temple treasuries.
- c) *Hoard of coins lost in catastrophes:* Collection of coins which the owner was unable to claim because he was prevented to so as a result of some war, flood etc.
- d) *Mercantile Hoards:* Property of a merchant or someone who was related to transaction of commodities or in collecting money from others.
- e) *Bullion Hoard:* Coins collected not for the face value but for their metal content. These were hoards of coins which were intended for scrap metal and would have been melted down had not some accident prevented it.
- f) *Saving Hoard:* Commonest of all, and the coins in these hoard tend to have high denomination and are often in good condition.

Out of these types of hoards, the saving hoard is most commonly found and even individuals practiced hoarding for safety. Majority of hoards depict concentration of higher denomination coins.⁴³ As a result, we find larger number of gold and silver coin hoards than copper coin hoards. In fact, Yaudheya coins are rarely found in hoards as most of them were copper or bronze coins.

⁴¹ Laing, Lloyd R., 1969, *Coin and Archaeology*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson Pub., London: 64.

⁴² *Ibid*: 56-64.

⁴³ *Ibid*; Grierson, P, 1965, *Ibid*: x.

Another nature of find is that of stray coins, found through surface diggings and simple explorations. These finds represent coins that were lost singly. Scholars consider stray finds as the best guide to the area over which coins were used. But, there are possibilities that they may appear out of context.

Considering that all *remains* type of sources have been tangible witnesses to the events or time period they were part of⁴⁴, these sources can be probed, and such probing can go through a systematic framework and methodology. Scholars have recently shown interest towards developing theoretical frameworks and methodologies to define and understand processes which can possibly be used to investigate various objects related to the past. All historical objects have certain basic and common questions, the answers to which further categorise those objects and they are then treated specifically on the basis of the answers that one finds. The most common feature of these models is that the steps are more or less three levelled approaches that starts from 'description', goes to 'deduction', and to 'speculation'.⁴⁵ Elliot⁴⁶ creates a framework in which the study of object moves through four steps: 1) observation, 2) comparison with related objects, 3) contextualisation through provenance and sources and, 4) conclusions. At each step, the nature of the object and its function is discussed. In this model the steps 1 and 2 are part of the 'description'; steps 2 and 3 of 'deduction'; and the step 4 in the 'speculation'.

⁴⁴ Vogel, Hans Ulrich, 1996 *Ibid.*; Caple, C, 2006, *Objects- Reluctant Witness of Past*, London: xv; Cribb, J, 2006, 'Money as Metaphor 2', *President's Address, NC*: 494,495.

⁴⁵ As named by Prown in (1982 [1994]) *Witherthur Portfolio*: 1-19. (reprinted in Pearce, ed. 1994, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*: 133-8).

⁴⁶ Elliot, R. *et al*, 1982, 'Towards a Material History Methodology' reprinted in Pearce, ed. 1994, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*: 109-124.

Yaudheya Coins and Their Study

Scholars unanimously agree that the earliest coins found in the Indian subcontinent are the PMC dated back to c. 6th Century B.C. The earliest and most common PMC are of silver. The copper PMCs are not absent, however, are comparatively very few and are often considered to have been the imitation of the silver PMC as the symbols are similar. The copper PMC can be taken to represent the transitional phase when the common metal used for coin production shifted from silver to widespread use of copper. However, the PMC continued to be used as it has been found to have circulated with the copper cast coins (CCC).

The time period from c. 3rd century BC to A.D. 3rd century is considered a period of hiatus, of inter-regnum between two empires i.e., the Mauryas and Gupta. The absence of imperial state resulted in the rise of local political units along with many centres. This period thus, saw the issuance of large number of coins instead of a common coin system that shows both external influences along with indigenous attributes.⁴⁷ This period is important as we see the introduction of the first inscribed coins that were predominantly copper or bronze. P. L. Gupta⁴⁸ suggests that these cast coins remained in circulation from 3rd century B.C. to approx. 3rd century A.D., though their minting may have stopped approximately between 1st century B.C.-A.D. Apart from the copper coins with indigenous characteristics, we find that other coins in circulation in the northern subcontinent were Greek and Macedonian coins and in the western region, the Kṣatrapa coins, Kuṣāna coins, Sātavāhana (minted on the weight patterns of the Greek silver standards). The local copper coins of the post-Mauryan

⁴⁷ Many scholars are of view that the silver PMC may have been a standard coin of the Mauryan empire, and with the disintegration of the this empire the silver PMC ceased to be minted and the new smaller political units that came up issued their own coins, which were the copper cast coins (CCC), as copper was locally available.

⁴⁸ Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal, 1969, *Coins*, New Delhi, National Book Trust.: 22.



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and pre-Gupta period have been categorised further for convenience on the basis of their geographical extent, palaeographic and symbolic details and the content of the inscribed legends. On the basis of the legends on these coins, these can be divided into four types:

1. *city coins*, those bearing the names of the specific cities (like Ujjaini, Tripuri, Ajudhe etc);
2. coins bearing the legend *naigama* or Nēgamā (like those found in Taxila that hint at presence of some king of *nigam*);
3. coins that bear the name of the king or chief is mentioned like in the coins of Pañcālas, Mitras, Auḍumbaras etc.;
4. coins that bear the legend *janasya*, *gaṇasya*, or *janapada* and its declensions depicting it to be some kind of republic or clan based society, e.g. the Agāchas, Śibis, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Kāḍa etc. in the Punjab region.

The interest in the Yaudheya coins dates back to the growing interest of the British officials in Indian History. Cunningham was the first to explore the history of Yaudheyas once he found the coins from Punjab and near-by areas. Yaudheyas, according to Cunningham, were warriors and the name itself is derived from the term 'Yodha'. Cunningham had identified them with the modern Johiyas occupying the banks of Sutlej.⁴⁹ Later, while some preferred to categorise their issues as 'tribal coins' because of their possible oligarchic or pro-republican nature of the polity, other scholars continue to use the term '*janapada*'.

Apart from looking at the find spots of the coins, scholars also resorted to examining other sources for identifying geographical provenance of Yaudheyas. The Yaudheyas were

⁴⁹ Cunningham, Alexander, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, XIV: 140; Cunningham, Alexander, 1891, *Coins of Ancient India from Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century A.D.*, London.76.

already known to historians as had been mentioned by Pāṇini in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and in the *Mahābhārata* as a clan who were associated with the region of Rohitika⁵⁰. They were also mentioned in inscriptions as being opposed to Rudradaman about 150 A.D. and to Samudragupta about 330 A.D as frontier people.⁵¹

On this basis, by 1906, Smith⁵² had categorised Yaudheya coins, along with issues of other neighbouring communities, as tribal coins. He translated the term *gaṇas* as tribes and assigned the coins of various *janapadas*, which may have been independent or semi-independent kingdoms, to this category of tribal coins. What appears to have made him distinguish between his categorisation of the local and tribal coins, is that the former coins may be ascribed to a territory (mostly to those areas that were economic centres or city), while latter was associated with a community. Smith's model of categorisation of the coins, with legend *gaṇa* or *jana* as tribal coins, was continued by Allan in his catalogue of the British Museum coins. Bhandarkar,⁵³ however, does not agree to the use of the term tribal for *gaṇas*, instead, the English term he uses is oligarchy. About locating the Yaudheyas, he points out at Pāṇini's *sūtra* '*Janapada lup*', (IV.2.82), which he opines, meant the name of a community, and also, the name of the region occupied by them. On this basis, he justifies Cunningham's identification of Yaudheyas as Johias, as they were settled in the region between the two rivers where the Yaudheya coins have been found, the part consequently known as *Johiya-bar*⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ Dasgupta, K.K., 1974, *Tribal History of India- A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta: 215.

⁵¹ Fleet, Vol. III: 8.

⁵² Smith, Vincent A., 1906 (Rpt. 1972), *Coins of Ancient India: Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I*, Delhi, Indological Book House: 143-47.

⁵³ Bhandarkar, D.R., 1972, *Ancient Indian Numismatics: Carmichael Lectures, 1921*, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture 6-10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*: 11-12.

After 1920s, we do not see much work on Yaudheya coins as the scholars had shifted their focus to aesthetically appealing coins of Kuṣāṇas and Guptas. One of the reasons was also that, no further collections of copper coins were made after Cunningham, as the coin collectors made collections according to their choice. Nor do we hear of the Yaudheya coins found in hoards, the reason may be that the hoards generally comprise highest denomination coins. Yaudheya coins along with, Kuṣiṇḍa, Ārjunāyṇas and Auḍumbara coins are stray finds.

In 1945 however, the subject received a revival, when Birbal Sahni⁵⁵ found large number of coin moulds at Khokhrakot and Bishan. He studied these coin moulds and also made site survey. He pointed that Rohtak may be ascribed as capital of the Yaudheyas. With Sahni's findings, the geographical extent of the Yaudheyas came to be considered fixed. However, other issues of academic interests had developed. One of the most important was of understanding the nature of their political-economy, and how valid was the nomenclature "tribal". As mentioned above, Bhandarkar in 1921 had already questioned the nomenclature. D.C. Sircar⁵⁶ finds the term 'semi independent' more appropriate than tribal⁵⁷. Though, in his later writing Sircar prefers to use the term post-Mauryan coins because the legends are in post-Aśokan Brahmi. K.D. Bajpai⁵⁸ appears to share this notion to an extent, and by explaining the *janapada* type of coins, he points out that in the later Vedic texts, the term *janapada* signifies a community or people of a particular geographical and cultural unit.

⁵⁵ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, New Delhi.

⁵⁶ Sircar, D.C, 1968, *Studies in Indian Coins*: 139-144, 204-213.

⁵⁷ The Mālava coins have been discussed in detail later along with Sircar's argument and characterization. See chapter I.

⁵⁸ Bajpai, K.D, 1966, "The Janapada Coins: Their Terminology, Classification and Chronology", in *SPLC*: 1-2. Also see Bajpai, K.D., 2004, *Indian Numismatic Studies*.

Thus, the term has the capability to define the peculiar nature of these communities without compromising the meaning.

The academic debate over the validity of nomenclature went on a common platform in 1968⁵⁹ and then in 1977⁶⁰. Nisar Ahmed⁶¹ contended the use of term *janapada* as according to him *janapada* never has monarchical connotation and preferred to use terms Tribal and Local for republic and monarchical states respectively. He also widens the scope of local coins by including the city issues as *naigama* coins within it.

In 1977, Lallanji Gopal explained the possible connotation of the term 'Tribal'.⁶² He pointed out that the criteria for coins to be included under the label of 'tribal' does not depend on the geographical or racial criterion or the matter if the founder of a dynasty came from a tribal stock. The distinguishing mark, according to him is that, the tribe wields political power and its name is associated with coins. He further states that, there is possibility of internal changes in political structure but what is important is that, the power continues to be exercised in the name of the community. He explains why the term '*janapada*' would be inappropriate. *Janapada*, as he puts, signifies 'an inhabited country'. But it appears to have been overlooked that the groups had long given up their wandering habits and had settled down. The monarchical form of political organisation is not yet agreed upon, however, use of the term 'republic' is also questioned.

⁵⁹ A.K. Narain ed., 1968. *Seminar Paper on Local Coins of India*.

⁶⁰ Singh, Jai Prakash and Nisar Ahmad (ed). 1977, *Seminar Papers on The Tribal Coins of Ancient India (C. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.)*

⁶¹ Ahmad, Nisar, 1968, 'Basis of Classification Terminology and Some Problems', in A.K. Narain ed. *Seminar Paper on Local Coins of India*: 17.

⁶² Gopal, Lallanji, 1977, 'Introduction' in Singh, Jai Prakash and Nisar Ahmad (ed).. *Seminar Papers on The Tribal Coins of Ancient India (C. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.)*: i to xiv.

Krishna Mohan Shrimali⁶³ in his study of the Pañcāla coins, prefers the term *janapada* coins for those coins that bear the name of the kings. He points out that the area of circulation of these coins extended the geographical confines of the Pañcālas, hence term local is inappropriate. Also, these coins appear to have been issued by individual kings and thus, the term tribal for them is not applicable. He finds *janapada* an appropriate term, as in traditional writings it can be used for both monarchical and non-monarchical powers and it also implies territory as well as people. Also, in traditional writings, *janapada* is a component along with other elements of state or political organisation. The term *janapada* coins, while according to Shrimali, is appropriate for the coins issued by Pañcāla, Mitras and Auḍumbaras, it also includes those coins that bear the legend *janasya*, *janapadasa* etc. i.e., that of Ārjunāyanas, Śibis etc.

Therefore, the type of coins that bear the legend "...*janapadasa*" along with the name of the *janapada* denote their affiliation to a heterogeneous political organisation or clan-based or even of mixed type. While, it is in the nature of the coins to be mobile, one can also see that these groups are also on the move. In case of Pañcāla, there may have been an expansion or eastward shift, as is indicated on the basis of the coin distribution. Western UP has yielded Pañcāla coins that can be dated back to c. 3rd century BC onwards, but it seems to have expanded to the eastern region of Bihar and Bengal only post 1st century AD. The movement is not restricted to the coins only, but is also of the people, as there are differences in the legends and the scripts used. Many scholars are of the similar view about the Śibis, who may have been a *janapada* in the sense of a 'collective sovereignty', which had various *gaṇas* within them, and were on move, as considered by Parmanand Gupta and Bajpai. However, this issue in itself develops scope for various academic questions and

⁶³ Shrimali, Krishna Mohan, 1985, "History of the Pañcāla" Vol 2:3-4.

probes as one needs to look at the purpose of coinage, as well as to examine beyond the monetary role of coins including the political, cultural and religious aspects of coin striking.

Parmanand Gupta⁶⁴ on the basis of epigraphic sources, points out that the Mālvās, Yaudheyas, Vṛṣṇi etc, can be described as *gaṇas*. Gupta suggests that while, they are in republican form of government in 2nd and 1st century BC, they seem to have continued to use the term for themselves even when the nature of its polity may have changed. In case of *janapada* to an extent, he agrees that this was a sort of a 'collective sovereignty' that 'constituted political bodies', which may have comprised various *gaṇas*. Though, he does not reject that the *janapada* may not have depicted the collective constitution, but may have had a loose arrangement. The shift in the nature of the governance through the self-identification and self representation by those involved in issuance of coins, as in the legends of the coins has also been seen. The example of Vemaki *janapada* is put forward. In the case of Vemakis, they issued the earlier coins in the name of the *Vemaki Janapada*, while later issues were struck in the name of *Rājan Vaimaki Rudravarman*⁶⁵ suggesting their movement towards monarchical polity.

The ascription of the term 'tribal' to Yaudheyas and similar groups brought about the debate whether, these groups were tribal or should their coins be called the *janapada* coins or merely indigenous or local coins.

With this backdrop, an attempt has been made to study the monetary system by looking at *janapada* coins of Punjab region in general and Yaudheya coins in particular. Yaudheya coins have been found from areas that include the present states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and western U.P. and Kangra region of Himachal Pradesh. The seals,

⁶⁴ Gupta, Parmananda, 1989, *Geography from Ancient Indian Coins and Seals*. Concept Pub: 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

coins and coin mints of the Yaudheya have been found at Alwar, Bharatpur and Dhaulpur, Bahawalpur State and Lahore in Pakistan, Sugh, Khokrakot, Hissar, Karnal, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Delhi, Dehradun, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahar, Aligarh, Māthura, Etah, Bareilly Shahjahanpur and Rampur⁶⁶.

The Yaudheya coins are predominantly circular copper coins. It seems that not much emphasis was made to give it a smooth finish around the edge of the coins⁶⁷, as the edges have cracks. The legends, though partially visible as a result of wearing out, are in Brāhmī script and Sanskrit language. Allan⁶⁸ had identified 6 Classes of Yaudheya coins on the basis of its legends. Over the time, this categorisation has been challenged by many scholars. At present Devendra Handa's⁶⁹ categorisation of the Yaudheya coins is widely accepted. Among the most commonly found symbols are the kine, *caitya*, deity with spear, female deity, tree, *śrīvatsa* symbol etc. Scholars have varied opinions about identifying and naming these symbols. These issues and debates would be taken up in subsequent chapters.

Leaving the scope for the non-modern techniques to ensure uniformity and possibility of depreciation and wear- tear of the coins over the period of time, when we look at the weight pattern of the Yaudheya coins in Allan's catalogue (though the number is not enough to make a generalised statement), it seems that Yaudheyas adhered more precisely to the traditional *kārsāpana* standard than Indo-Greek drachma standard. The metal and the

⁶⁶ See Gupta Parmanand: 62-64. Also see *Numismatic Supplement*: 89. Allan: cl to clii; Handa, 2006:114-124.; Handa, 2007: 158-170.; Mann, Richard.D., 2007, 'Yaudheya Chronology and Coinage', in *Numismatic Digest*, Vol 31: 47-113.

⁶⁷ During my field visit to IIRNS, Nasik, when I was observing the Yaudheya coins, from their experience of handling and studying large number of coins, the research associates informed me that the crudeness of the Yaudheya coins was not the result of wear and tear, but there may not have been the need or intention to give those coins a fine finish at the edge. An observer can see the cracks at the edges, which was the result of force with which the coin flan had been struck.

⁶⁸ Allan: cxlvii- cliv

⁶⁹ Handa, 2006: 114-124.; Handa, 2007: 158-170; Mann, Richard.D., 2007, 'Yaudheya Chronology and Coinage', in *Numismatic Digest*, Vol 31: 47-113.

weight standard they intended if any, that was not Greek. However, another possibility is that they gave more importance to the size, shape and symbols/legend than the weight. Because, even if we take the possibility of alteration in weight due to wear and tear, the range for different coins differed, though the size was more precisely maintained.

Recently scholars, like Vir Singh⁷⁰ and Deshraj Thakur⁷¹, looking at the history of Jat community have made attempts to trace the origin and the historicity of Jats to Yaudheyas or Johiyas.

While identification and attribution of Yaudheya coins have remained the domain of the numismatists, the work of the historians become quite useful in identifying the historical processes of the region and time period. Coins those bear the name of the communities with terms like *gaṇa*, *gaṇasya*, *janasya*, and *janapadasya*, denoting 'of the peoples', have been categorised differently by different scholar. This type of coin is peculiar to the western region of Yamuna river.⁷² Numbers of politico-economic units appear to have been simultaneously operating and issuing coins in this period. The coins of all these units appear to have been in circulation at the same time. If one is to count the type of coins that were in circulation during the period of our concern, we find:

- 1) the copper and silver coins issued by the local and indigenous units, that may be categorised in four types as mentioned above.
- 2) the coins issued by the Indo-Greek (mainly silver), and Macedonian kings and their Kṣatrapas (both silver and copper).

⁷⁰ Singh, Vir, ed. 2006, *The Jats: Their Role & Contribution to the Socio-Economic Life and Polity of North & North-West India*, Volume 2, New Delhi.

⁷¹ Thakur, Deshraj, 2002, *Jat Itihas*, Delhi.

⁷² Detail discussion on the geo-political condition of the Indo-Ganga divide and Punjab region has been carried out in Chapter II.

- 3) the gold coins issued for the first time in the subcontinent by the Kuṣāṇas. Also their copper coins.
- 4) the PMC that were no more issued but remained in circulation and were moulded
- 5) the uninscribed copper coins

The period and the region taken into consideration exhibit a very complex pattern of monetary system. With this background, this study is an attempt to understand the economy of the North-Western India in general with focus on one of its indigenous units, the Yaudheyas.

The study of Yaudheya and other *janapada* coins has managed to grasp interest of very few scholars. The new finds, published in the numismatic journals like, *JNSI*, *Numismatic Digest*, *Indian Numismatic Chronicles* etc. at a steady pace, has not been able to grasp the interest of the history students yet, nor do they figure in history texts. The number of these coins is inexhaustible, yet, their representation in museums is only through 10 or 11 coin samples. In the anxiety to trace long distance trade routes and trade in luxury items, facilitated by precious metallic medium of exchange, one can see that the dynamics of healthy and vibrant local/regional and intra-regional exchange patterns are neglected. The study of silver and gold coin based monetary system is seen important in studying the economy while the copper based systems have been largely ignored.

There is a need to rethink the way coins have been used as a historical source. The collection which at present forms the data-base of our study needs to be sorted. Also, the existing methods and models of looking at coins on which we place our economic understanding of a time period, need to be probed again. Here, the association between state

and monetary system, as well as the metallic money and long distance trade can be rechecked. The shift from macro and grand to micro and regional is needed.

Chapterisation, Objectives and Research Questions

I. Geographical distribution and Types of Yaudheya Coins

Objectives:

- a) To map the distribution of the sites yielding *janapada* coins, and extent of the Yaudheya coins, on the basis of the coins found through both exploration and excavation.
- b) To examine the changing nature of classification and categorisation of the Yaudheya coins.
- c) To examine the material remains and archaeological tradition in the region under occupation of the Yaudheyas.

II. Identifying Yaudheyas: Their Polity, Society and Neighbours

Objectives:

- 1) To examine the relation of the Yaudheyas in the Indo-Gangetic divide by looking at the:
 - a) Representation of the Yaudheyas and their neighbourhood in traditional literature.
 - b) Representation of the Yaudheyas on their various types of coins and the analysis of the coin designs, motifs and legends.
- 2) To understand the Yaudheyas in their geo-political context by looking at various cultural, political and economic processes and to compare and contrast cultural system of this region with the Ganga Valley.

III. Yaudheya Coins: A Monetary System or Stray? – A Case study of Collection of Yaudheya coins at IIRNS⁷³, Nasik.

Objectives:

- 1) To understand the role of Yaudheya coins in the economy and examine its place in the Indian monetary and coinage tradition of Early Historic period. This can be done by:
 - a) looking at the similarities and disparities between Yaudheya coins and other types of coin in circulation in the same time period, in terms of method of manufacture, weight standards adopted,
 - b) looking at the possible volume of coins that were found,
 - c) looking at the significance of the metal used for coin manufacture.
- 2) To explore the relationship between the processes of urbanisation and monetisation.

Conclusion

Conclusion would incorporate the analysis of the study to examine whether the aforesaid objectives could be attained through the methodology used. The conclusion also tries to evaluate the coins as a source of history writing.

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Chapter I

Geographical Distribution and Types of Yaudheyas Coins

Introduction of metallic media of exchange is considered a marker for the coming of a complex economic and monetary system in a society. The variety of coin types and the possible geographical extent of their circulation in a period is important to understand what role did the coins play in an economy. Thus, in this chapter, an attempt has been made to: (i) identify the Yaudheya coins, by examining their categorisation by various scholars from the beginning of studies in numismatics; and (ii) identify the region where the Yaudheya coins may have circulated. It is possible to identify the region associated with the Yaudheyas, by looking at the geographical extent where these coins were found through surface exploration and in excavation.

Background

The northern Indian subcontinent of post-Mauryan period provides evidence for a large number of uninscribed and inscribed copper coins. The beginning of inscribed coins has been seen as advancement towards a more complex system of manufacture and circulation, than the PMC and uninscribed coins which preceded them. The PMC only bore a certain set of symbols through striking of punches, while the introduction of inscribed coins provides more specific information about who the issuers were and/or to which region the coins belonged. These coins may be seen as the beginning of a phase where the issuer had clear intention of laying their claims on the coins, as it may have been a symbol of power and authority. The need for such alleged assertion may be justified as the result of presence of other competitors, who may have also claimed similar level of authority.

Looking at the large number of types of these inscribed coins, scholars have tried to categorize them into four categories for easier classification. These categories are a) City coins, b) monarchical, c) *naigama* coins and d) *janapada* coins¹.

The *janapada* type of coins are those that bear the legend *janasya*, *ganasya*, or *janapada*. The Yaudheyas are one of the most important communities that issued *janapada* type of coins. Apart from Yaudheyas other communities are Ārjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Vṛiṣṇis, Mālavas, Agoḍaka or Agras, Śibiś, Trigartas and Rājanyas; and they are placed in the western regions of Indian subcontinent. Their territories have been identified primarily on the basis of the distribution of their coins. These coin issuing communities have been very briefly discussed below and their geographical placement can be seen in map 1.

Ārjunāyanas, on the basis of the provenance of their coin finds, have been considered to have influenced the Rajputana area. Most of their coins have been found from northern Rajasthan region namely, in the district of Ganganagar and in Dhanasia in the regions lying west of Agra and Mathura. The earliest reference to Ārjunayānas is in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* of 2nd Century B.C. Another important reference is found in the Allahabad inscription² of Samudragupta, where Ārjunayānas are mentioned along with Mālavas and Yaudheyas as the frontier people on whom he established his authority. The coins however, have been dated to have been issued from around mid 2nd century B.C. The coins bear in Brāhmī legends *Ārjunāyaṇajayah* and *Ārjunāyanānām Jayah*³. Allan⁴ explains the legend as 'Victory of Ārjunāyanas'. Parmanand Gupta⁵ also considers this indicative of their martial

¹ This classification has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

² Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III: 8, 14.

³ Allan, J., 1936, *Catalogue of coins in Ancient India: In British Museum*, London. (BMC from here onwards): lxxxii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Gupta Parmananda, *Geography from Ancient Indian Coins*: 17.

triumph over their enemies. However, it may not be completely ruled out that, it may be a method of self-appraisal and self exaltation of their community. Many scholars believe that they may have been descendants of Arjuna of the *Mahābhārata*, and consider them as Kṣatriyas. Gupta points out that the *Mahāmāyuri*, a Buddhist text of 3rd century A.D., refers to a place called *Arjunāvana*, where Arjuna is said to have resided by Arjuna and the Ārjunāyanas lived between eastern Haryana and the western part of Uttar Pradesh.⁶

Aśvakas, are placed in the neighbourhood of Taxila, as the coins were collected by Cunningham from around Taxila. The legend was first interpreted by Buhler and accepted by Smith as the “Aśvaka tribe of the *Vaṭa* or the fig tree”⁷. These coins are characterised by Brāhmī characters and single die variety. Rapson⁸ ascribes these to 200 B.C. But Allan prefers to interpret it as *Vaṭasvaka* in Prākṛit.⁹ The coins legend is on obverse, left to the three arched *caitya* with crescent symbol with a human figure standing side wards and holding a sword, below which is a *nandipada* symbol. The reverse side remains plain. The earliest literary reference is found in *Indica*, authored by 2nd century historian Arrian. Arrian mentions the Assakenoi to have been living in the Swat valley. The Assakenoi are identified as the Aśvakas, who were the first to experience the brunt of Alexander’s invasion that made them move southward towards Taxila¹⁰.

Trigarta or Traigartas (people of Trigarta), Allan suggests, must have been closely connected to Yaudheyas as has been mentioned by Pāṇini in 4th B.C. The square copper coin bears the legend *Trakata Janapadasa* in Brāhmī on its reverse and is now in the collection

⁶ Gupta Parmananda: 16

⁷ Smith, Vincent A., 1906 (Rpt. 1972), *Coins of Ancient India: Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*: 157.

⁸ Rapson, *Indian Coins*: 14.

⁹ Allan, J, *Ibid*: cxlvi.

¹⁰ Numismatic supplement: 1936: 69-70.

of the British Museum. However, its findspot is not known.¹¹ Cunningham places the Traigatas between Kangra and Jalandhar to south of Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. Gupta points out that, Trigarta can be taken to mean a region comprising of three valleys, which he identifies as those of the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.¹²

Mālava coins were first discovered in great numbers by Carlleyle. He found more than 6000 coins of Mālavas and majority of them were found from Nagar and Tonk¹³. Cunningham¹⁴ also procured few specimens from the lake of Pokhar. Also, in the course of excavation of Rairh, over three hundred coins of Mālavas have been discovered. These coins date from c. 2nd century B.C. to c. 4th century A.D. Mālavas have also been mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription, along with Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas, among the *pratyanta nrpati*¹⁵ that were made to accept Samudragupta's superiority. We also find that, Cunningham places Mālavas around Multan, which he identifies as their capital. Through the numismatic evidence, scholars generally agree that they existed in Eastern Rajasthan.

Out of more than 2000 coins, Carlleyle is said to have recognised nearly forty names of chiefs. Smith ascribes these names to the chiefs of Mālava region and these coins to have been issued by them. However, Allan¹⁶ and later Sircar¹⁷ had divided these coins further into three classes: first, bearing the legend *Mālavānām jayāḥ* or *Mālavagaṇasya jayah*, the other two classes are ascribed to the Mālavas because they are found with the Mālava coins and

¹¹ Allan, J, *Ibid*: cxxxix-cxl, 212.

¹² Gupta, Parmananda: 46.

¹³ Carlleyle, A.C.L., 'Reports on Excavation at Nagar and Nagri' in *Reports of Cunningham*, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. VI: 162.

¹⁴ Cunningham's Reports, ASI, VI, 163.

¹⁵ Fleet, translates the word *pratyanta nrpati* as kings of frontier state that are Samataṭa, Davāka, Nepāla Kartpura etc. He added the term 'tribes' where names of Mālavas, Ārjunāyana, Yaudheyas etc are mentioned. See Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III: Sand 14.

¹⁶ Allan, J, *Ibid*: civ-cviii.

¹⁷ Sircar, D.C, 1968, *Studies in Indian Coins*: 206.

resemble them in fabric; the second category does not bear any legend and the third category bears meaningless legend. The third category thus, includes all those coins that Carlleyle and Smith understood to have represented the names of various chiefs. Sircar¹⁸ criticised this inclusive classification and stated that rather the latter two classes seem to have been imitations of the Mālava coins that may have been the result of imitation by goldsmiths. However, their circulation appears to have been contemporaneous. Sircar¹⁹ suggests that when Mālavas were not in position to issue their own coins, local goldsmiths minted the imitation of coins in order to meet the requirement of the people who were used to these coins. He talks about the role of what he calls “local conservatism”²⁰.

Categorisation and Classification of Yaudheya Coins

The copper coins of north India were generally collected with more or less contemporary Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa coins, by the British officials and other treasure-seekers. Most were private collections that remain unrecorded. Just after the Asiatic Society was founded in 1784, a need for a museum of its own was felt in 1796 and a modest beginning was made in 1814.²¹ Soon, in *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. XVII), H.H. Wilson wrote an elaborate article titled ‘Description of Select Coins from Originals or Drawings in Possession of Asiatic Society.’ Here, Wilson referred to the chief collections made in India by Col. Willoughby, Seymon, R. Tytler and Col. Mackenzie. Most of the collection comprised of the Roman and Medieval period coins. The first direct reference to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 206-207.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*: 208.

²¹ Banerjea, J.N., 1961, ‘Coin Collection of Asiatic Society’, *JNSI*, Golden Jubilee Volume: 424.

Yaudheya coins is seen in the essays by James Prinsep²² where Captain Cautley's collection of Yaudheya coins from Behat has been mentioned. Apart from descriptive study, no fixed categorisation was adopted by these scholars, though, these were commonly referred to as local and indigenous coins that were made in imitation of Sassanian and Indo-Greek coins.

The earliest studies were made by the private collectors themselves and the collection was generally the result of stray surface finds and also were bought from moneychangers and junk dealers local market²³. As a result, the only method of ascribing dates to these coins was based on the palaeographic study of the legends and the scripts that were found on the coins. Thus, in these coins the study of the legend became very important, not only for its categorization and classification, but also for its dating. This resulted in emphasis upon the identification of each and every character and symbol on the coins. The worn out legends and symbols on coins, therefore, created debates about details and accurate identification.

Cunningham²⁴ was the first scholar to date these Yaudheya coins and trace their historicity. He also tried to identify the provenance where the coins may have circulated. Cunningham considered Yaudheyas as especially noted warriors, as he takes the meaning of their name as 'soldiers or fighters' from *yudha*, "battle". He further points that the Yaudheyas have been mentioned by Pāṇini as one of the war-like tribes of Punjab, who existed even before the time of Alexander. He also points out that their names are found amongst the opponents of the Macedonian king. Cunningham considered that they now occupy the country on both the banks of the Sutlej. Thus, the lower doab between the Sutlej

²² Prinsep, J, 1858 *Essays on Indian Antiquary Vol 1*, 73-82, 200-203.

²³ Rodgers mentions about the instances where, local hawkers and junk-dealers often had coins of various periods that may have been found locally or acquired by them through coin changes.

²⁴ Cunningham, A, 1882. *ASIAR*: 139-41. Also see Cunningham, 1891, *CAI*: 75,76.

and Ravi came to be called the *Johiya-bar* and Cunningham informs us that it continued to be called so even in modern times. He also points out that *Johiya* is derived from *Jodhiya*, which is the usual pronunciation of *Yaudheya*. He also had the opinion that other *Johiyas* are found in the Salt Range and that the name of the Mount *Judh* of the Salt Range must have received its name from these people. Elsewhere²⁵ Cunningham had ascribed the foundation of the town of Ajudhan (now in Pakistan) to the Yaudheyas.

Cunningham²⁶ examined Greek accounts that were contemporaneous to Alexander, to find mention of the Yaudheyas. He referred to Quintus Curtius's (Roman historian of 1st century) mention of a tribe named *Sambrace* or *Sambracæ*, who had no king, but were led by "three" generals. They are called *Sabagræ*. He considered that the coins of Yaudheyas also show a possible division into three tribes. Considering Yaudheyas as *sam-vagri* or united *vāgars* (where *vāgar* means warrior), it seems that he hints at the presence of some kind of confederacy of three warrior groups. The three "warrior tribes" of *Johiyas*, *Bāgrīs* and *Bhaṭīs*²⁷ may be the divisions of the Yaudheya clan or *Samvārgīs*.

On the basis of the provenance of coin finds Cunningham places them in (pre-independent) Eastern Punjab and in the region between Jumna and Sutlej. On the basis of two large finds made at 'Sonpath' (which he mentions to have existed between Delhi and Karnal²⁸), he identified two different kinds of coins²⁹. The older ones, according to him, were of small size dating from about 1st century B.C. The later ones of large size have been

²⁵ Cunningham, 1871, *Ancient Geography of India*, (rpt.) 1963, 208.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ He tried to link the *Bāgar-des* the region of Bikaner where the *Bāgrīs* may have lived as later in the time of Akbar is said to have given the king of Bikaner the title of *Bāgrī Raja*. In the same district the *Bhaṭīs* lived who may have derived the name from the term *Bhaṭa*, a warrior. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*: 76.

²⁸ He may have been referring to the present present Sonapat, as in *The Ancient Geography of Ancient India*, he mentions that Yaudheya coins have been found at '...Sirsa, Abhor, Hansi, Panipat and Sonpat...' (pp. 207), and has marked Sonpat, where modern Sonapat exists (see map titled 'Travels of Hwen Thsang in N.W. India A.D. 635-637', facing pp. 274).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

dated from about A.D. 300, after the decline of Indo Scythian power. He states that the figures on these coins seem to have been influenced by the Indo-Scythian coinage. The second type of coins, which have six headed figure on one side (identified as Kārttikeya and named *Ṣadānan* and *Ṣaṇmukhi* by him) was considered Brāhmanical by him. This category according to him also has a silver coin. He mentions that four of the coins were collected by him from Kangra district. While the silver piece and above 300 copper coins were found between the Sutlej and Yamuna river. In his writing he has discussed 14 coins including one silver piece. He considered coins with the legends of *Mahārājasa* and *Bhānu Varma* as variance of Yaudheya coins that later came to be questioned by other scholars.

In a later publication, Cunningham³⁰ mentioned another coin type. The legend was not very clear and he deciphered it to be *Bhūmidhanuṣa Yaudheyānā(m)*. The legend *Yaudheyānām* appeared quite clearly above a bull figure on the obverse, the term was not clear (which later became an issue of debate). The coins that he discussed are shown in the table 1.

In 1906, Smith in his catalogue of coins categorised Yaudheya coins under the head of local and tribal coins, as they were different from the Indo-Greek coins. Smith's main aim was to trace the history of Hellenistic influence and Indo-Greek rulers and identify the region under control. He placed Yaudheya coins with the Kuṇinda, Auḍumbara, Vrishnis Aśvakas and Śibiss. The categorisation of these coins as 'Tribal' became formalized with Smith's work and was further reinforced by Allan's catalogue of ancient coins that were present in the British museum. Smith deciphered, what Cunningham had deciphered as *Bhūmidhanuṣa Yaudheyānā(m)* as *Bhūpadhanuṣa*.

³⁰ Cunningham, A, *ASIAR*, Vol XIV: 141.

In 1936, John Allan³¹ catalogued the collection at the British Museum. The collection which he studied had 108 coins identified as Yaudheya coins. These coins had been collected by 11 different scholars/collectors at different time from different places.³² Allan categorised the coins into 6 Classes, on the basis of the symbols, in case of Class 1 and in case of others on the basis of the legends that the coins bore³³. The various Classes and the legends can be seen in Table 2.

The coins of first group, Class 1, are series of small coins of potin without any legend or name of tribe. These are round in shape and bear a stamp of a single die, which is much smaller than the flan. Allan suggests five variants within this Class, denoted as varieties from 'a' to 'e'. He suggests that they may have been the earliest of the Yaudheya coins that may have come into circulation. The first four variants, i.e. from 'a' to 'd' are based on the difference in placement of the symbols. Variety 'e' of Class 1 has the legend *Mahārājasa* in Brāhmī. He states that one should not understand it as to be the king's name here, as there seems to be no authority for this as a name. So, according to him it is 'of the Mahārāja', and he shows that the Yaudheyas had a monarchical constitution until fairly late date.³⁴ He states that this Class has been categorized on the basis of the commonly found symbols present on the other types of Yaudheya coins, also since these were found along with other Yaudheya coins at Behat, he found it appropriate to incorporate these as a Class within the Yaudheya coins.

³¹ Allan, J. 1936, *BMC*.

³² See, Allan, 1936, *BMC*: 265-278, 288. The accumulations is the result of collections of Prinsep, Cunningham, Whitehead, Spink, Rodgers, Rapson, Clive Bayley, W.S. Talbot, J.P. Rawlins etc.

³³ Allan, J. *Ibid*: cxlvii-cliii. 265-268, 288.

³⁴ Allan, *Ibid*: cli.

Allan placed the coins with the legend of *Bahudhānyake Yaudheyānām* in Class 2. Cunningham had discussed this coin in his study but had deciphered it as *Bhūmidhanuṣa*.³⁵ Allan³⁶ accepts Rapson's³⁷ reading of the coin legend as *Bahudhānyake*. Rapson had pointed out that the term *Bahudhānyaka* has a geographical connotation, which meant 'region rich in corn'.³⁸ He also points out at the mention of the term *Bahudhānyaka* in the *Mahābhārata* as one of the regions in western India that was conquered by Nakula. Considering it a real place mentioned in the Epic, Allan suggests that the term may be the name of a usually fertile part of Punjab, in the possession of Yaudheyas.³⁹ He dates these coins to the late second-first century B.C.

The Class 3 coinage, according to Allan, is closely connected to the style of Kuṇinda coins and is of later date. The silver coin of Class 3, Allan points out closely corresponds with the Kuṇinda silver coins. Also the depiction of Kārttikeya and female figure, which he considers Lakṣmī, is similar to image depicted on the Kuṇinda coins. The silver coin has the legend of *Bhāgavata-svāmino-Brahmaṇya(-) Yaudheya*. The copper coin varieties of this type also bear similar legend, i.e, *Yaudheya-bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya*. He explains the legend as 'Of Brahmaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of Yaudheyas'. In these coin types we also find that the many symbols appear to be quite common, like the *śrīvatsa*, kine, and *kalaśa*. Class 3 copper coins have been assigned to 2nd century A.D. The Class 3 coins have nine varieties.

Allan places only one coin in Class 4, that has the partial legend '...*Bhānuva*'. Allan included this coin along with those of Yaudheyas as he found the symbols similar to those in

³⁵ Cunningham, A., *ASIAR*, XIV:181.

³⁶ Allan, J, *Ibid*: cxlviii.

³⁷ Rapson, 1900, *Journal of Royal Asiatic society*, 107

³⁸ *Ibid*.

³⁹ Allan, J. *Ibid*.

Class 3 Yaudheya coins. He suggests that the full inscription may be *Bhānuvarmasa*. Class 5 also comprises of a single square copper coin with incomplete legend. He suggests that the full legend may be read as [*Yau*]dheyān[ām].

Class 6 coins have been ascribed to 3-4th century A.D. Allan considers that these coins show clear influence of style and types of Kuṣāṇa of later times. He also states that the inscription is Gupta Brāhmī. The legend on the Class 6 coins is *Yaudheyaganasya jaya*, which Allan reads as 'Victory of Yaudheya tribe'. Allan suggests that, in the varieties (b) and (c), where the legend is succeeded by the words *dvi* and *tri*, respectively, they may be interpreted as contractions of *Dvitīya* and *Tṛtīya* (second and third) sections of the tribe.

Another aspect that Allan points out is that of possibility of presence of more than one mint site for a type⁴⁰. In coin types where the varieties have different fabric and size, and difference in the cursiveness of the Brāhmī characters, it may become understandable that they had been produced from different set of tools, and different standards. In case of Class 2 coins, he suggests that two fabrics may be distinguished in these coins, a larger size with cruder inscription and the in the other has is smaller and neater with inscription in cursive form.

Categorisation of Yaudheya Coins post Allan's Classification

Allan's categorisation continued to be accepted and used by scholars unanimously. All new coins that were found could be placed within one of the 6 Classes. In 1956, an addition to his sub-category was made by S.C. Kala⁴¹. He published some coins bearing the

⁴⁰ Allan, *ibid*, cxlix.

⁴¹ Kala, S.C., 1956, 'Some Interesting Coins of Yaudheyas', *JNSI* 18: 46-48.

legend *Rāvaṇasya* and attributed them to Yaudheyas on the ground that they were typologically similar to Yaudheya coins and were found in their association.

In 1973, Bajpai⁴² questioned Allan's existing categorization. He argued that the Class 1 coins are from Kaushambi and cannot be attributed to Yaudheyas. Later, Handa⁴³ also considered that Class 1 coins should be taken as coins of the local ruler of Behat, the region where they were discovered. Bajpai had also pointed out that Class 5 coins are not separate from Class 2 coins, and thus the two should be amalgamated.⁴⁴ This was advocated in the works of Dasgupta⁴⁵ and Nisar and Manmohan Kumar⁴⁶.

Jai Prakash Singh⁴⁷ questioned the inclusion of coins with the legend *Bhānuva* or *rāno Bhānuvasya* and *Rāvaṇasya* along with the Yaudheya⁴⁸. He points that besides typological resemblance, they do not bear any evidence to support their attribution to Yaudheyas. The Yaudheyas, according to him remained 'republic people' till Samudragupta⁴⁹, and thus to consider the two coins to denote the emerging monarchical character is not justifiable. He refers to the possibility of emergence of certain chieftaincies in the neighbourhood of the Yaudheyas after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. Parmanand Gupta⁵⁰ also advocated non-induction of *Rāvaṇasya* coin with the Yaudheya coins.

⁴² Bajpai, K.D, 1973, 'Yaudheya Coins- A Critical Study', *JNSI*, XVII: 90.

⁴³ Handa, D., 1991, 'The Yaudheya and Their Coins', *Numismatic Studies*, 1: 69.

⁴⁴ Bajpai, K.D. *ibid*: 90-94.

⁴⁵ Dasgupta, K.K, 1974, *Tribal History of India- A numismatic Approach*, Calcutta: 201-211.

⁴⁶ Ahmad, N. and Manmohan Kumar, 1993, 'The Reminted Type IV Coins of the Yaudheyas', *Numismatic Studies* 5: 49.

⁴⁷ Singh, Jai Praksh, 1977, 'Coinage of the Tribal Republics' *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India (c. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.*, ed. by J.P. Singh and Nisar Ahmad: 1-17.

⁴⁸ Coin with the legend *Bhānuvasya* was placed by Allan in Class 4 of Yaudheya coins. (See *BMC*: cl, 275). In 1956, Kala proposed the incorporation of the *Ravaṇasya* along with Yaudheya. (See S.C. Kala, 1956, *JNSI* 18. 46-48).

⁴⁹ Singh here refers to the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta that mentions Yaudheyas as frontier people along with other groups like Mālawas and Ārjunāyanas based in the western regions of the subcontinent. For inscription See, Fleet, *CII*, III: 8, 14.

⁵⁰ Gupta, Parmananda, 1989, *Geography from Ancient Indian Coins and Seals*: 65.

Class 3 coins of Yaudheyas have been the most debatable, because firstly no other silver issue has been found than the one which has been mentioned above. Secondly, Allan found the maximum number of variants, i.e. 9 variants, (see Table 2) of this Class. According to Nisar Ahmad⁵¹, only the silver coin of Class 3 may be attributed to Yaudheyas. He suggested that the copper varieties of this Class should be attributed to a 'tribe called Kumāras'. P.L Gupta⁵² also agreed to this in one of his papers. The main reason for argument is the difference in the legends of silver and copper coin varieties. While the legend in silver specimen is *Bhāgavatasvāmino Brahmanya- Yaudheya*, the legend in copper varieties does not have the term 'Yaudheya', instead has *Kumārāsa* (see Table 2). A.M. Shastri⁵³, D. Handa⁵⁴ and Richard Mann⁵⁵ argue against Ahmad and Gupta. The legend 'Kumārāsa' is considered to have been used as epithet of Kārttikeya by them, and the image of Skanda or Kārttikeya on the coins does not show that it may have belonged to people named Kumāras. It is also pointed that the term is in genitive singular and not genitive plural. They do not have doubt about it that these coins belonged to the Yaudheyas.

Scholars unanimously agree that Class 1 and Class 4 coins of Allan's catalogue can not be attributed to Yaudheyas. Out of Allan's six Classes, what are now left are his three main issues of Yaudheya Coins: Class 2/5, Class 3 and Class 6. . Scholars still use these classes to refer to coin types. However, in his recent work, Handa⁵⁶ has suggested the classification of Yaudheya coins into 6 types on the basis of the legends. These 6 types are:

⁵¹ Ahmad, N, 1977, 'The Kumāras- A Forgotten Ancient Indian Tribe', in *Seminar Papers on Tribal Coins (c. 200 B.C., to 400 A.D.)*.

⁵² Gupta, P.L. 1987, 'The Brahmanya Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 11: 40-43.

⁵³ Shastri, A.M, 1987, 'Some Observation on the Mandi Hoard of Yaudheya and Kuninda Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, 11: 40-43.

⁵⁴ Handa, D., 1991, *ibid*:- 71-72.

⁵⁵ Mann, Richard, 2007, 'Yaudheya Chronology and Coinage: An Analysis', *Numismatic Digest*, 31: 48, 63-66.

⁵⁶ Handa, 2007, *ibid*: 205-206.

- i) Coins with the legend 'Yodheyana' (*Yaudheyānām*)
- ii) Bull/Ellephant or *Vṛṣa-Gaja* type, with the legend, *yaudheyānām Bahudhāñake* or a part of the version.
- iii) *Ṣaḍānana- Ṣaṣṭhī* type, generally showing Six headed Kārttikeya bearing the legend *Bhagvata-svāmino Brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya* or a kin to the version on obverse with some subsidiary symbol on the reverse.
- iv) *Ṣaḍānana-Deer* type showing the six headed Kārttikeya and the legend generally reading *Bhagavato Brahmanyadevasya Darmattya* on the obverse and deer standing before a temple with the subsidiary symbols under, above or between the horns.
- v) *Citreśvara* type, showing tricephalous Śiva seated on *Apsamāra puruṣa* or unicephalous Śiva holding the trident with Brāhmī legend *Bhagavato Citreśvara Mahāmaṇaḥ* on the obverse and with or without deer standing before a female figure and some subsidiary symbols on the reverse. (It is commonly taken as a type of Kuṇinda coins).
- vi) Unicephalous *Kārttikeya-Devasena* type, bearing the legend of *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya[s]*, sometimes with additional *dvi* or *tri*.

Geographical Extent and Provenance of the Yaudheya Coins

There has been a visible change in the approach towards studying the distribution pattern. The earliest scholars made attempts to demonstrate the entire geographical area that may have been occupied by Yaudheyas. What started as treasure trove, took the form of ethnographic study with Cunningham's curiosities, and was then followed by attempts to

identify the Yaudheyas and the region they controlled on the basis of textual references. At present, distribution of coins in archaeological and stratigraphical context appears to be important.

Cunningham assigned the region between Sutlej and Yamuna as the region of Yaudheyas settlement. This was on the basis of their coins found in the proximity of this region and because he was able to find a community of *Johiyas* in this region.

Bhandarkar⁵⁷ accepted and used the reference in Pāṇini's writing and used it to corroborate Cunningham's attribution. While Pāṇini's reference gave a rough idea of region under the occupation of the Yaudheyas, scholars have tried to corroborate it with reference through other sources. One of the most commonly used sources is, as has been mentioned above, Samudragupta's inscription that places them on the western frontier. Among textual sources, scholars point to reference of a place Rohitika in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā Parva*), which is described as special to Skanda. The association of Yaudheyas and Skanda is unanimously accepted by scholars, also the number of Yaudheya coins and moulds that were found in Rohtak, enables scholars to derive connection between Rohtak and Rohitika. Rohtak, thus, came to be considered as the centre or what some scholars consider capital of Yaudheyas.⁵⁸

Scholars have used the legend, in Class 2 coinage, i.e. *Yaudheyānām Bahudhānyake*, in association with their reference in the epics to identify the area under Yaudheyas. Dasgupta⁵⁹ advocates that the legend may be translated as "of the Yaudheyas (living) at Bahudhānyaka", and that since Rohtak is a fertile region he identifies *Bahudhānyaka* with

⁵⁷ Bhandarkar, D.R., 1972, *Ancient Indian Numismatics: Carmichael Lectures, 1921*, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture 6-12.

⁵⁸ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*. Also see Dasgupta, 1974:200.

⁵⁹ Dasgupta, *ibid*: 215.

Rohtak. This was also advocated by Jai Prakash⁶⁰ and P.K. Agrawala⁶¹. Jai Prakash Singh⁶² elsewhere points out that the Tribal republics of early India are divisible into two groups: Northern and Eastern republics. The knowledge about eastern republics is more from the Buddhist canonical text and other later brahmanical writings, but not from coins. The knowledge of the northern republics rests mainly on their coinage and very little on the material supplied by classical Greek author and from Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Some of these republics are known to have resisted Alexander's invasion. He thus advocated that it is very important to understand what information one can get from the coin itself, like using the legend and also the sites of coin finds. Thus, the abundance of coin moulds found from Rohtak region and the correlation that was established between the *Rohitika* mentioned in the *Mahābhārat* and *Bahudhānyaka* in the legend with Rohtak made it widely acceptable to many scholars that Rohtak may have been the capital region of Yaudheyas.

Geographically the Yaudheya coins have been found in areas that cover the modern states of Punjab, Haryana, Eastern Rajasthan, western UP, Himachal and Uttarakhand.⁶³ Various find spots that have been reported to have yielded Yaudheya coins and published by the scholars have been listed in Table 3. When these sites are plotted on map one can see, it helps to understand the general extent of Yaudheya coins irrespective of the types and time period (as can be seen in Map no. 2[▼]).

⁶⁰ Singh, Jai Prakash, 1965: 131-32.

⁶¹ Agrawala, P.K., 1967, *Skanda- Kartikaya: A Study of Origin and Development*: 42.

⁶² Singh, Jai Prakash, 1977, 'Coinage of the Tribal Republics' *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India (c. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.*, ed. by J.P. Singh and Nisar Ahmad: 1-17.

⁶³ See Gupta Parmanand: 62-64. Also see Numismatic Supplement: 89. Allan: cl to clii; Handa, 2006: 114-124.; Handa, 2007: 158-170.; Mann, Richard.D., 2007, 'Yaudheya Chronology and Coinage', in *Numismatic Digest*, Vol 31: 47-113.

[▼] This map is based on the sites mentioned in Table 3.

Recently, scholars have made attempts to understand other aspects of the distribution of Yaudheya coins as well. Apart from the general distribution, recently, Handa⁶⁴ and Mann⁶⁵ have made attempts to specifically plot the extent of the three types of Yaudheya coins, i.e., the Classes 2/5, 3 and 6. By making such divisions, they have tried to understand the time period of Yaudheyas, region of occupation and the relation of Yaudheyas with their contemporary neighbours.

Handa⁶⁶ in his study classified the sites on the basis of the coin types that were found there and mapped them accordingly. Through his study, he has been able to identify that the different types of coins were circulated within smaller regions. The Class 2 issues have been found in modern Haryana and western regions of UP. Class 3 coins are found in Uttarakhand and southern regions of Himachal Pradesh. Class 6 coins are considered to have spread in northern Rajasthan, Punjab (both Pakistan and India), and Haryana.

Division of the sites on the basis of the type of coins they issued can be seen in the Tables 4, 5 and 6 those represent the sites yielding issues of Class 2, 3 and 6 respectively⁶⁷.

Mann⁶⁸ in his study does not include the sites that have been reported by the earliest scholars, where there is no clear information as to which types of coins were found. As a result, he does not list the sites, like Multan, Ajudhan, Kahrór, Bahawalpur etc. in present

⁶⁴ Handa, Devendra, 2006: 114-119; 2007: 158-161.

⁶⁵ Mann, Richard, 2007: 49-107.

⁶⁶ Handa, 2006:117; 2007:161.

⁶⁷ In comparison to the general list of sites, where Yaudheya coins are reported to have been found, the number of sites when specifically marked on the basis of the coin types reduces drastically. The reason being that, in most of the cases, the number and type of the coins that were discovered remain unspecified, also not every time the coin finds get published. As a result the number of the sites that can be certainly mentioned to have yielded coin types of Class 2, 3 and 6 are merely ten, four and ten respectively. Sites where Class 2 coins have been found are shown in Map 3. Sites yielding coins of Class 3 and Class 6 have been plotted in Map 4.

⁶⁸ Mann, Richard, *Ibid.*

Pakistan. Mann has taken a step forward by mapping the hoards separately from stray finds. But this has been done only in case of Class 6 coins⁶⁹.

One of the points that both Handa and Mann suggested by studying the distribution pattern was that Rohtak cannot be considered a permanent capital of the Yaudheyas.⁷⁰ Handa is of view that the Yaudheyas began at Rohtak and moved to Naurangabad under the pressure from the Indo-Greeks. He based this argument on the basis of the various coin moulds found from Naurangabad.⁷¹

According to Mann, there is no direct relation between Bahudhānyaka and Rohtak. As the Class 2 coins do not bear the image of Skanda⁷² and those bearing the image of Skanda are Class 3 and Class 6 coins. While Class 3 and *Citreśvara* are not found near Rohtak, Class 6 coins are of later origin, so there is no convincing reason to consider Rohtak as permanent capital of Yaudheyas.

General description of the Archaeological Tradition of the Region

The studies done on Yaudheya coins are mostly on the coins and moulds that were found during surface exploration or surface digging. In such finds, the coins are out of context, and are not in relation to material assemblage of its time period and the site. It is important to look at the archaeological correlates of the Early Historical sites in the region considered to have been occupied by Yaudheyas. The material culture refers to the the physical parameters of things like artefacts, their measurements, number, distribution pattern etc. However, some scholars prefer to consider that artefacts from the pre-modern cultures

⁶⁹ Mann, *ibid*: 108,109.

⁷⁰ Handa, *ibid*; Mann, *ibid*.: 49-107.

⁷¹ Handa, D, 1988: 132; Handa. D. 2007, *ibid*.

⁷² Mann, *ibid*

do have *biographies* like people; and that the study of an artefact have stories about how they were produced, exchanged, used, distributed, destroyed and finally deposited, and their relationship with other artefacts and commodity in a culture.⁷³ If one is to apply this on coin studies, it becomes important that the coins are studied in their stratigraphical context, as ideas expressed in material items are neither intrinsic to them nor unchangeable, rather they acquire meaning that is dependent on context⁷⁴. It also opens the scope of looking at the Yaudheya coins in relation with other contemporary archaeological findings and context, as a part of a larger picture and not as a whole in itself. The aim of looking at the various excavation reports is to identify if these sites depict the relation with neighbouring areas or if there is any peculiar nature to the sites in the region that yield Yaudheya coins. The Early Historical sites that will be discussed are, Hastinapur⁷⁵, Purana Qila (Delhi)⁷⁶, Sugh⁷⁷, Khokrakot⁷⁸, Sunet⁷⁹ and Raja Karna Ka qila (Kurukshetra)⁸⁰. The cultural assemblage at these sites as found through the excavation of these sites has been discussed below. The cultural sequence that the excavations at these sites have shown has also been plotted in Table 7.

⁷³ Appadurai, A, 1986, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics and Value', in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai, CUP, Cambridge: 4; Johanson, Keistiina, 2006, 'The Contribution of Stray Finds for Studying Everyday Practices- The Example of Stone Axes, *Estonian Journal of Archaeology*, Institute of History of Tallin University, 10, 2: 100.

⁷⁴ Bradley and Edmond 1993, 14.

⁷⁵ Lal, B.B. 'Excavation at Hastinapur and other Explorations in Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52', in *Ancient India*, 10 and 11, 1954 and 1955: 5-151.

⁷⁶ *IAR*, 1954-55: 13-14; 1969-70: 4-6; 1970-71: 8-11; 1971-72: 7-8; 1972-73: 8-9.

⁷⁷ *IAR*, 1963-64; 1965-66.

⁷⁸ *IAR*, 1986-87: 34-36.

⁷⁹ *IAR*, 1983-84: 67-70.

⁸⁰ *IAR*, 1970-71: 15-16; 1971-72: 23, 24; 1972-73: 12, 13.

Hastinapur

At Hastinapur four trenches were laid, HST 1 to HST 4. HST1 and HST 2 revealed that Hastinapur has 5 occupational periods, Periods I to V. In two other trenches HST 3 and HST 4 the remains are only of Period V. The periods have been dated as follows:

Period I: pre 1200 B.C.

Period II: c. 1100 to c. 800 B.C.

Period III: early 6th century to early 3rd century B.C.

Period IV: early 2nd century B.C. to early 3rd century A.D.

Period V: late 11th century to early 15th century A.D.

Period I is represented by a deposit of brown clay which varied from 1 to 1 1/2 ft. in thickness. The fragments of the ware are that of the OCP. Since the pot sherds are very small it is not possible to identify if the pottery is wheel-turned. There are no structural remains found at this level. There are no metallic implements found. The site was deserted before the transition to the next period.

Period II represents a deposit of 6-7 ft. In Period II the most distinctive industry was the PGW, with fine fabric. They were mostly wheel turned, but hand made specimens are also found. The potteries had the motifs of groups of vertical, oblique or criss-cross lines usually on the outside profile but at times also on the interior. No detailed plans of house structure were obtained. Among metal objects only copper implements have been found. No iron objects were found, but at the uppermost levels of the Period lumps of iron slag are reported to have been found. Other important findings from this period include terracotta figurines, glass bangles, and carnelian and jasper beads. Period II ends with the deposition of

flood silt, and some portions of the mound also show the existence of erosional scars on the mound. The flood may have resulted in the abandonment of the site, as a result for a considerable time there was no habitation.

Period III shows no continuity with the Period II ceramic culture. There developed another class of pottery that came to be called NBPW. Specimens of plain grey and red wares are found too. As for structural remains, use of burnt brick is a marked development, though at places mud bricks were also used. Among the burnt bricks the sizes that were prevalent were a) $17\frac{1}{2} \times 10 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in. b) $14\frac{1}{2} \times 9 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in and c) trapezoidal in shape, 12×9 and $6 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. In HST 1 three structural sub-periods are reported within the Period, total thickness of deposit ranging from 5 to 9 ft. In HST 2, the strata ascribable to this period is reported to be 10ft. This Period is marked by regular use of iron, as the notable objects are barbed and socketed arrow head, chisel and sickle blade. Copper also seems to have been commonly used. Other important remains discovered were, terracotta figurines, beads, bangles and rings. This period came to an end as a result of a large scale fire.

Period IV appears to have started after an interval of a century. There did not seem continuity with cultural equipment of Period III. The grey ware industry was replaced by red ware industry. This period is marked by the beginning of the stamped pottery with incised decorations as well. The motifs included *triratna*, *svastika*, fish, flowers, loops etc. In HST I seven structural sub-periods were recorded. All houses were made of burnt brick. A ring well was also found during the excavation. The terracotta figurines were moulded as well as hand made. Votive tanks also made appearance in this Period. Votive tanks are also known to have been found at several other sites like Taxila, Kausambi, Ahicchatra etc, where they belong to a comparable period.

Geographical Distribution and Types

Among other important artefacts are the figurines and sculptures which show similarity with those found at Mathura and Ahicchatra. These have been ascribed to be similar to the Śunga style. This enabled scholars to assign date to this Period. Other important findings include two inscribed pots, one of which had the legend, *Ṣadhujātasa* (of Sadhujāta). The pot was recovered from an early level of the Period. The Brāhmī characters are suggested to have belonged to the Christian era. A seal was discovered at the upper layer of the Period that bore the inscription *Thi (?)kaputrasa Jayaśama(?)sa roddisa (?)*.

This Period is also marked by discovery of copper coins at various levels of the Period. From early levels 5 Mathura coins were recovered, which were assignable to 2nd century B.C. The middle strata yielded 6 coins of Yaudheyas. These coins were identified as the 'bull-elephant type of coin' (Allan's Class 2). Smith had stated that these were the earliest type of Yaudheya coins that may be dated a little before the Christian epoch. B.B. Lal thus, dated the middle level on the basis of date ascribed to the Yaudheya coins by Smith. In the late levels of this period, 10 coins were found that were identified as imitation coins of, Kuṣāṇa king, Vāsudeva. On the basis of Smith's dating of these coins to 189 A.D., the uppermost layer of this period was dated as c. 200 A.D. After the uppermost layer of Period IV, scholars suggest abandonment of the site.

The next settlement was reported to have belonged to as late as 11th century A.D. The pottery was altogether different. This period is marked by introduction of glazed ware. This Period exhibit medieval cultural assemblages and coinage. Scholars assigned this Period a time span of three centuries from 1100 to about 1400 A.D. To assign the chronological date scholars dominantly used the presence of the coins and legend bearing

inscription on seals etc. The levels that had those coins and artefacts were assigned the date to which the coins were considered to have been existed.

Khokrakot

Large number of Yaudheya coins have been reported to have been found during surface digging especially from Khokrakot⁸¹. At Khokhrakot, Sahni⁸² mentions 'the mound is regularly cut by the river across and large number of coin moulds often appears to the surface as the result of erosion'. Silak Ram⁸³ excavated Khokrakot and four trenches were laid out. Two trenches KKT-I and KKT- II were taken up for digging. The excavation revealed four fold cultural sequence. No Yaudheya coins were found in the excavation, though Kuṣāṇa copper coins were recovered from Period III.

Period I was characterised by occurrence of PGW. The total deposit was 1.60 m. The pottery was of medium fabric and the common shapes are reported to have been bowls and dishes of various types. Associated red ware of medium and coarse fabric has also been mentioned. With bone and terracotta items beads etc are also found. Iron was reported from one of the upper layers of the period.

Period II has a cultural deposit of 2 m. This period is characterised by introduction of NBPW. PGW with reduced percentage continues up to the mid layers of the period. The main pottery of this period was plain grey and black slipped wares. It has been pointed that there was no marked difference in the shapes of the red ware from Period I and II, except

⁸¹ Sahni, B, 1936, 'Antiquities from Khokra Kot Mound at Rohtak in Jumna Valley', *Current Sciences*, May: 796-801. Also See Sahni, 1945.

⁸² Sahni, B, 1936, *ibid*: 796.

⁸³ *IAR*: 1986-87: 35.

that the percentage of this ware increased. Slags, nail and rings in iron and copper are commonly found. As for structural remains mud walls have been reported.

Period III has been subdivided in to three phases having a total deposit of 3.50 m. The three phases are: pre- Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa and post- Kuṣāṇa. The main feature of phase III A is the use of sundried bricks also some burnt brick. The gray and black slipped wares ceased to be produced and red ware became dominant. Pottery of this period bear stamped designs of *svastika*, *nandipada*, floral designs etc, a seal bearing the legend 'Mulavapinam' in Brāhmī was found. The Brāhmī characters have been identified as those belonging to second-first century B.C. This period is also marked by introduction of coins, seals, and moulded terracotta figurines.

Phase III B (Kuṣāṇa) is marked by two distinguished features: a) wide use of burnt bricks (size: 37X23X7 cm), and; b) copper coins belonging to Kuṣāṇa. Pottery appears similar to III A, but there is also introduction of thick brown glazed ware. Other antiquities are gold die struck ring or amulet depicting the head of a moustached male; iron rings, nail, fish-hooks and slag and bone and shell items.

Period III C (post Kuṣāṇa) were represented by three structural phases and the antiquities discovered are very poor. Stamped pottery seems to have been absent from this period. At Khokrakot no other coins other than that of Kuṣāṇa have been reported to be found in Period III.

At KKT I, period IV was reported and has been assigned to Gupta period. The excavation revealed a ruined brick temple of Gupta period, that overlaid at the Kuṣāṇa structure. Bricks that were used measured 33 X 22 X 7. In Period IV no coins have been reported at Khokrakot.

Sunet

Scholars have been reporting large number of surface findings from Sunet⁸⁴. At Sunet, the excavation in 1983-84 revealed six cultural periods that show a continuous occupation from Late Harappan to Early Medieval period. The cultural periods are as below:

Period I – Late Harappa c. 1800-1400 B.C.

Period II – Painted Grey Ware (PGW), c. 1000-600 B.C.

Period III – Black-slipped ware, grey ware and red ware, c. 600-200 B.C.

Period IV – Śunga- Kuṣāṇa, c. 200 B.C.- A.D. 300.

Period V – Gupta c. 300-600.

Period VI – Early Medieval, c. 600- 800.

Period I is represented by thick, sturdy red and wheel made pottery. This Period is comparable to that at Sanghol, and Bara (Ropar). No structural remains or antiquities were reported to have been found. Period II at Sunet was characterised by PGW. Other types of wares that were found were Bara ware, black-slipped ware and associated red ware. Period III was reported to have had 2.25 m, and continuity with Period II in respect of the ceramic remains found. PGW ceased to be used, however black-slipped ware, grey and associated red ware have continued to exist. Though there are wider range of shapes in case of bowls, vases etc. Other antiquities consist of terracotta beads, ball, bangles, bone styli, and a terracotta seal bearing legend '*naga danasa*'. On palaeographic basis it has been assigned to 2nd century B.C. The structures remains found were made of mud bricks.

Period IV bear a thick strata depicting extensive habitation activities in three trenches of site marked SNT-I and SNT-II. There were seven structures phases that were

⁸⁴ Sahní, B, 1941, 'Yaudheya Coin Moulds from Sunet, Near Ludhiana in Sutlej Valley.' *Current Sciences*, No.2, Feb: 65-68.

identified, and burnt bricks were used predominantly. However, there were also few mud brick houses also found, that have been identified as servant quarters by the scholars. Other notable antiquities mentioned are beads made of terracotta and semi-precious stones. This period also yielded copper coins and inscribed terracotta seals and sealings of Kuṣāṇa and late Kuṣāṇa period. Moulds of coins and metals of Kuṣāṇa kings Vāsudeva and Huviṣka are also reported.⁸⁵

Period V was distinguished by the occurrence of red polished ware of Gupta period. Three terracotta seals were reported. There bore the legend 'Sankarabaravanabhyam'. Period VI is reported to have only been found at SNT I, which is characterised by large number of coins, identified as Kota coins, and dull red slipped pottery. Houses were constructed to reused bricks, and few terracotta figurines were discovered.

Though, there has been no report of Yaudheya coins from excavation, it has been pointed out that, out of the four sites at Site no. 3, situated at Satgurnagar and Bhai Randhir Singh Nagar, around 30 thousand moulds of Allan's Class 6 type of coins were discovered from surface.⁸⁶

Sugh

At Sugh during excavation in 1963-65, two trenches were laid down, marked as SGH 1 and SGH 2 on eastern side of the mound.⁸⁷ This site shows two cultural periods⁸⁸, Though, at another place it has been mentioned that the site showed third cultural Period as

⁸⁵ *IAR*: 1983-84: 69.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*: 69-70.

⁸⁷ *IAR*: 1965-66: 35-36. Also see, Handa, 2006, *Ibid*: 25-26, 51.

⁸⁸ *IAR*: *Ibid*.

well, beginning from 1300-1400⁸⁹. Period I is reported to have extended from c. 600-100 B.C. further divided into 2 sub-periods, I A and I B. Sub-period I A (c. 600-500 BC) was characterised by the occurrence of the PGW. It has been reported that on the basis of the shapes, fabric and designs found this ware may have been in the last stage of its existence. From the beginning of this level's occupation it is associated with NBPW. From this sub-period both iron and copper objects have been found, however, there is no report on what they were.

Sub-period I B (c. 500-100 BC) was distinguished by the absence of PGW but continuation of other ceramics of the previous Period (the ceramics are not mentioned). Structural remains have been reported from this Sub-period that includes brick-built houses, terracotta drain pipes, and soak-wells. These structures have been considered as indicators of urban settlement. Other finds include terracotta figurines, iron and copper objects, bone and ivory styli, beads of semi-precious stones and glass. Silver PMC, Indo-Greek coins in silver, uninscribed and inscribed cast copper coins were also found from this Period, though the layers to which they may have belonged is not mentioned.

Period II (c. 100 B.C. – 500 A.D.) was marked by absence of N.B.P.W. Occurrence of other Early Historical wares that are found to have been decorated and at times stamped, however is considered to show continuity with Period I B. The houses are found to be both in mud and baked bricks. Large number and variety of iron and copper objects were found, which includes arrowheads, axes, nails, rings etc. Apart from it terracotta figurines of both animals and human have are reported. Cast copper coins, and inscribed clay sealings have also been found, One seal bears the legend 'Vyagharaja' and the other 'Sugha', both are

⁸⁹ 'Excavation at Sugh (1964-65)- Haryana', *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 1-2, 1977, 1-49. Also see, Handa, 2006, *Ibid*: 24-27.

have been dated to 3rd century A.D.⁹⁰ It has been suggested that by scholars this finds from this Period is comparable to the that of Rupar, Kausambi, Ahicchatra and Hastinapur.⁹¹

We do not come across any mention of the Yaudheya coins within the assemblage during the excavation, though later Handa's⁹² study reveals the presence of Yaudheya coins of Class 2 and 3 at this site, which may have been during surface finding.

Kurukshetra

In Kurukshetra⁹³ region excavation was carried out at Raja Karna ka Qila for three seasons between 1970- 1972. In total 5 trenches were laid KKQ 1, KKQ 2, KKQ 3, KKQ 4 and KKQ 5⁹⁴. The sites show three cultural Periods that depict habitation of the site in Early Historical, Early Medieval and late Medieval period. Period I is characterised by pottery, usually associated with NBPW phase. AT KKQ 1 some remains of PGW were found at the lower levels, but at KKQ 2, 3 and 4 no PGW sherds were obtained from the deposit of this Period. At KKQ 5 this period shows pottery of Bara culture. The earliest occupation in this Period seems to have begun around 4th century B.C. and continued till 1st century A.D.

Period II was marked by occurrence of Red Polished ware at all the trenches, and has been dated to c. 1st-3rd century A.D. The upper levels show use of baked brick for structures. Also stamped pottery is found with symbols of *cakra*, *nandipada* and floral motifs. From upper levels inscribed terracotta seals have also been reported, however the legends have not been reported. Copper coins have also been reported from this period, though they have not

⁹⁰ *IAR*, 1965-66 :70

⁹¹ Handa, 2006: 26.

⁹² Handa, 2006: 116-119.

⁹³ *IAR*, 1970-71: 15-16; 1971-72: 23, 24; 1972-73: 12, 13.

⁹⁴ KKQ 1 was laid during the first season, (*IAR*, 1970-71: 15-16) while the KKQ 2, 3 and 4 were laid in the second season. (*IAR*, 1971-72: 23, 24). In the third season KKQ 5 was laid in the main mound as trial trench. (*IAR*, 1972-73: 12,13).

been identified. There after this site remained deserted till it was reoccupied in early medieval period. Handa mentions that it is peculiar that there are no Kuṣāṇa coins found from this region, he mentions that the main findings include coins of Kuṇinda, Yaudheya and Mathura Kings.

Period III is marked by beginning of early medieval glazed ware, which continued in to medieval period. This period is marked by us of *lakhauri* bricks., in the upper levels Late Medieval fortification has been identified along with a *hauz* structure made up of *lakhauri* bricks plastered with lime.

Purana Qila, Delh:

In 1955-56, an exploratory work was carried out at Purana Qila. Silver PMC, and uninscribed cast coins were discovered in Period II. From lower level (dated 2nd century B.C.), Period III coins of Mitra rulers of Mathura were recovered; from mid level (1st century A.D.) and from upper level Kuṣāṇa.⁹⁵ Later, the excavation was carried out for four seasons from 1969-73⁹⁶. The site yielded a continuous cultural sequence from Mauryan to Mughal period. Though prior to the Mauryan period the site did not yield any regular cultural phase of PGW, some sherds were found. A proper cultural phase is found to have begun with the Mauryan Period. The site's excavation revealed 8 continuous cultural sequences of occupation: Maurya period followed by, Śunga Period, Śaka- Kuṣāṇa Period, Gupta Period, Post Gupta Period, Rajput Period, Sultanate Period and Mughal Period.

Mauryan Period was characterised by the occurrence of: (i) mud floors; (ii) NBPW; (iii) grey terracotta figurines of both humans and animals; (iv) an uninscribed cast copper

⁹⁵ *IAR*, 1955-56: 14.

⁹⁶ *IAR*, 1969-70: 4-6; 1970-71: 8-11; 1971-72: 7-8; 1972-73: 8-9.

coin, and (v) a clay sealing bearing such motifs as arched hill, tree and a hollow cross. Mauryan Period is followed by Śunga Period, NBPW seems to have continued in this Period. Śunga Period is also marked by the presence of: (i) remains of rubble structures, belonging to the two distinct phases; (ii) miniature bowl with incurved rim; (iii) terracotta plaques depicting *mithuna*, standing female deity under foliage, and Lakṣmī, along with few moulds representing female figures; (iv) two terracotta sealings with legends *dhamagiri* and *katakara*.

Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period was distinguished by use of baked bricks in the structure remains that were found. Evidence of use brick paved floor was found, the size of baked bricks 38 X 23 X 5 cm or 37 X 27 X 5 cm. The ceramic mainly consisted of red ware of medium fabric. Other important finds were: copper coins of Mathura, Kuṣāṇa and Yaudheyas (though their layers have not been mentioned); bone dice of various types; terracotta plaques and figurines of animals and *yakṣas*, these appeared to have been prepared out of Double-mould.

Gupta Period was represented by structural remains built from reused baked bricks that belonged to the preceding period. One of the structures showed three to four phases of construction. A sealing that bore legend in Gupta Brāhmī and a gold plated coin of archer type with *Śrī Vikrama* legend on reverse found below the debris of the last phase. It is suggested that the coin may have belonged to the later Gupta rulers. Other finds included terracotta figurines; shell bangles with carving; small damaged *mukha-liṅga* in Mathura sandstone; moulded and painted pots and; sealings reading *Śrī Makarasya*, *Śrī Aryyavama* with Sassanian fire alter above *Śrī Gudhadasah*.

Geographical Distribution and Types

The Post-Gupta Period was marked with structural remains in baked brick. This period shows the presence of various types of ovens; fragments of terracotta figurines. This Period was followed by the Rajputa Period represented by 5 structural phases. Stone enclosures and fortification walls were also exposed. Associate pottery was mainly red and black wares. A sherd with inscription in Nāgari has also been reported. Other findings included copper, terracotta objects and figurines; a copper 'bull and horse-man' type has been reported.

Sultanate Period was represented by houses of re-used bricks, built over the debris of earlier structure. Coins of Balban and Firuz Shah Tughlaq were reported to have been found. The Mughal Period is considered distinct on the basis of its ceramics: (i) glazer ware; (ii) a deluxe egg-shell thin ware with decorative exterior; (iii) the Chinese Celadon Ware and (iv) the Chinese porcelain. Other finds included: (i) coins of Adil Shah Sur and Shah Alam; (ii) glass wine bottles with amphalos base; (iii) gem studded ornaments of gold.

From the above discussion, of the cultural assemblages at the excavated Early Historical sites, there is a visible pattern of uniformity in the cultural sequence at the sites as can also be seen in Table 7. However, apart from the case at Purana Qila and Hastinapur, as has been discussed above, Yaudheya coins have not been reported to have been found in stratigraphic context from these sites. All these sites have yielded Class 6 and/or Class 2 coins and/or their moulds from the surface, but no coins or moulds have been reported to have been found from the layers during excavation.

The time period that is generally assigned to the Yaudheya coins on the basis of the palaeographic studies extends from 2nd Century B.C. to 4th Century A.D.² The Yaudheya

² The dates assigned to the various types of Yaudheya coins have already been discussed in the section which deals with 'Categorisation and Classification' of the coins.

coins have been found from the Period that has been assigned to the Śunga and Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period. This Period is identified in the cultural sequence on the basis of the of the ceramics, and most importantly on the basis of the finds of inscribed objects like pottery, and coins that bear the Brāhmī legend ascribed to pre-Gupta style of inscription.

The cultural assemblage at these sites shows that they were related to cultural sequences of other sites as well, where the occurrence of Yaudheya coins has not been reported. However, when one looks at the cultural assemblage of Early Historical sites in the region, ascribed to the Yaudheya coins, it appears that this region does not give a picture of a separate cultural pocket. It rather appears that the cultural sequence of this region can be very much correlated to that of most of the Early Historical sites of North India. The cultural Period and phases do not show a very distinct assemblage, but depicts connections with the neighbouring region as well. Example can be drawn by looking at two major excavated Early Historical sites Sanghol and Agroha, present right within the heart of the region that is ascribed to the Yaudheyas, but which have not yielded any Yaudheya coins. The cultural sequence appears to be similar to that of the Hastinapur, Kurukshetra, Sunet and Purana Qila. Sanghol's excavation showed a continuous occupation of the site from Late Harappan to Medieval Period.⁹⁷ Passing through the cultural phases of: PGW; NBPW (that yields PMC); the Śunga phase associated mainly with red ware and uninscribed coins; and Kuṣāṇa phase; followed by the Gupta phase. In case any of the phases are missed by a site it is very much because of the local reasons like flood in case of Hastinapur⁹⁸.

On the basis of the archaeological excavation reports and explorations there have been attempts to identify: the geographical extent of the Yaudheya on the basis of

⁹⁷ *IAR*, 1987-88: 95-99; 1988-89: 69-73; 1989-90: 88-94 Also see Ray, H. P., ed. 2010, *Sanghol and the Archaeology of Punjab*.

⁹⁸ Lal, B.B. *Ancient India*. Vol. 10 and 11: 15.

identification of the sites where Yaudheya coins have been found and; the time period to which they may have belonged by looking at the cultural sequence of sites as known from archaeological excavation reports. However, while using the excavation reports for data one is to keep in mind that these reports are highly abridged and it is also about the authors' inclination towards what is worth reporting and what is not. The case of excavation at Hastinapur and other sites can be used as an important example of this. In case of Hastinapur, it has been clearly reported that Class 2 Yaudheya coins were found in the middle layers of Period IV, the Kuṣāṇa coins are found in the upper layers of the same period.⁹⁹ On basis of Hastinapur report, a very clear sequence in terms of chronology of Mathura coins, Yaudheya coins and Kuṣāṇa coins can be derived, i.e. : Mathura coins were followed by Yaudheya's Class 2 issues and Yaudheya Class 2 issues were followed by Kuṣāṇa. It is possible that the earlier coins may have also circulated with the latter ones. However, in case of Hastinapur the detailed report makes it clear that they may have circulated in relatively different time. The time periods that can be ascribed to these are as follows:

Mathura Coins: Early layers of Period IV- c. 200 B.C to 100-50 B.C

Yaudheya Class 2 issues: Middle layers of Period IV –c. 100B.C- A.D. 150.

Imitations of Kuṣāṇa Coins: Upper layers of Period IV- c. A.D. 150- 300.

However, in case of excavation reports of other sites as seen above, no such detailed description about the layers has been given. We often find that all these three types of coins are mentioned to have been found from the same period with no mention if from same layer

⁹⁹ See Chapter 1:18.

or different. This kind of ambiguity in the description and the information given leaves good scope for loose assumptions by the reader.

- a) The geographical extent of the Yaudheya coins, as discussed above, covers a large part of north India. However, we find that there are very few evidences of recovery of Yaudheya coins through excavation from the early historical sites. There are certain factors which determines the finds of coins and their reporting while excavation: coins should be in identifiable condition. Highly corroded and defaced coins that can not be identified are often not mentioned in reports;
- b) the coins which are found in a layer are those which were lost at a particular time;
- c) the coins did not get recast by those who followed.¹⁰⁰

In case any one of these condition are otherwise, there are chances that coins will not be found during excavation. This is possible also in the case of absence of Yaudheya coins from sites.

Here, it becomes quite important that one tries to fill the gaps in the understanding of the subject created by the limits of one type of approach or source with other types. Also, it helps in understanding whether different sources provide consistent information about the subject or there is a mismatch in information generated.

Another important aspect relating to the Yaudheya coins is their co-existence with the other types of coins specifically the Kuṣāṇa copper coins. The circulation area of Kuṣāṇa coins extends from Central Asia to the Ganga Valley. Kuṣāṇa coins appear to have co-

¹⁰⁰ In conversation with Dr. Amiteshwara Jha (Director of IIRNS), I came to know that often the copper coins are melted and recast into coins, and in many cases into vessels by people, and are lost forever from the reach of archaeologists and numismatists.

existed with other regional coins in comparatively smaller areas in which they circulated. In north-western regions with Kuṣāṇa's issues, the coins of Auḍumbaras, Ārjunāyanas and Aśvakas are found; in west coins of Śibis; in north coins of Kuṇinda; in Ganga Valley the coins of Pañcālas; and around cities like Mathura, Ujjaini, Ayodhya, and Erich the city coins are found. These coin types with local characteristics are also found together based on their geographical proximity. While keeping this within the premises of our study, we can see that apart from the presence of Kuṣāṇa coins along with Yaudheya coins, other *janapada* type of coins were also reported to have been found. Also the area of circulation of these coins often coincides. This issue, however, will be taken up in the next chapter where the relation between the Yaudheya coins and other contemporary coins will be examined. The comparison and study of relationship is necessary to understand the nature of Yaudheya coins in terms of what role they play within the larger economy, in terms of both monetary and general. This deals with the issues like identifying the type of organisation the Yaudheyas made, a state like autonomous unit that issued the coins in its own authority or a less complex socio-economic organisation that received the delegated authority to issue coins.

Table 1: Yaudheya coins as categorised by Cunningham¹

S.No.	Metal	Weight (in grains)	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Comments
1	Copper	23	0.4	Single Die coin, reverse is blank. Bodhi tree with Buddhist railing and four small circles (Ujjaini symbol?)		Found at Behat
2,3	Copper	app. 57 to 70	0.7	Humped bull facing right towards tree in the railing. Unclear legend <i>Yaudheyana</i>	Elephant walking towards right, combined symbol of <i>triratna</i> and <i>dharmacakra</i>	-do-
4	Copper	22	0.5	Same as above	Same as above	-do-
5	Copper	NA	0.7	Bodhi tree, and legend <i>Mahārājā(sa)</i>	NA	Broken. Later scholars removed it from the Yaudheya type of coins
6,7,8	Copper	mean weight 172	NA	soldier standing, spear in right hand, left hand on hip, cock in field to right, legend <i>yaudheya gaṇasya jaya</i> ; 7th figure has <i>dvi</i> after <i>jaya</i> and 8th has <i>tri</i>	male figure towards left with left hand on hip and right hand extended	
9	Silver	26	0.7	Six headed male figure standing in front with spear in right hand, and brāhmī legend <i>Bhagvato Swamina Brahmana Yaudheya</i>	Six headed figure standing (Kārttikeya?) standing in front of <i>caitya</i> and <i>bodhi</i> tree	
10	Copper	30	0.6	Same as above, incomplete inscription		
11	Copper	158	1	Same as above, complete inscription <i>Bhagavata Swamina Brahmana Devasaya</i>	Same as above	
12	Copper	180	1	Same as above, small bird on the shoulder of the male figure	same as above, but the figure appears to be of a female	
13	Copper	139	0.95	Same as no. 9	deer to right, buddhist symbol over right (<i>śrīvatsa?</i>), <i>caitya</i> to the right of deer, and over the back of deer, letters <i>darma</i>	
14	Copper	126	0.9	A snake with legend <i>Bhānu Varma</i>	nearly obliterated, trident visible	Later scholars stated that this was not Yaudheya type.
15*	Copper	NA	NA	Bull before a tree, above it legend in brāhmī, <i>Bhūmidhanuṣa Yaudheyānā(m)</i>	An elephant to right with <i>nandipada</i> above	

* Cunningham, *ASIAR*, Vol XIV: 141

¹ Cunningham, *CAI*.

Table 2 : Yaudheya coins Classified by Allan

S.No.	Type		Metal	No. of Coins	Weight (Grains)	Coin size (Inches)	Obverse	Reverse
	Class	Variety/ Shape						
1	1	a / Round	Potin	4	0.4	10 to 17.5	Tree in railing, no legend	blank
2		b	Potin	3	0.4-0.5	18 to 27.4	same as above and Ujjaini symbol	blank
3		c	Copper	2	35.5 and 42.5	0.6	Tree in railing, Ujjaini symbol and trident. Second coin is overstruck	blank
4		d	Copper	1	16.5	0.5	tree in railing and Sun	blank
5		e	Copper	5	16.5 to 32	0.5 to 0.7	tree in railing, sun and trident, legend in brāhmī <i>Mahārājāsa</i>	inverted broad trident
6	2	a / Round	6 Potin, one Copper	7	14.5 to 26.5	0.5 to 0.6	bull facing right before sacrificial post(?), in brāhmī <i>Bahudhānyake Yaudheyānām</i>	Elephant towards right, above it <i>nandipada triratna</i> and a pennon like object
7		b	Copper	3	22 to 35	0.5 to 0.7	Bull facing towards left and sacrificial post pointing towards coins right side. Legend same as in variety a	same as variety a
8		c	7 Potin	22	37.5 to 51	0.6 to 0.75	Same as variety a	
9			15 Copper		44 to 77	0.6 to 1		
10	3	round	Silver	1	26	0.7	Six headed Kartikeya, standing facing, holding spear in right hand with left hand resting on hip. Legend in brāhmī <i>Bhāgavatasv(ā)min(o) Brahmanya- Y(au)dheya</i>	Goddess standing facing on lotus, 6 arched hill with <i>nandipada triratna</i> above it on left and on right tree in railing, snake or river at the bottom
11		a / Round	Copper	11	26 to 180	0.6 to 1.1	Figure same as above, with legend <i>Bhāgavatasv(ā)mino Brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya</i>	Goddess with radiate head standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. 6 arched hill with <i>nandipada triratna</i> above it on right and tree in railing on left
12		b	Copper	5	130 to 160	1 to 1.5	Same as above, but Kārttikeya is one headed and head radiate.	same as variety a
13		c	Copper	1	158	1	Goddess standing facing, with right hand raised and left resting on hip. legend same as above but partially worn out.	Six headed Kārttikeya standing facing between tree in railing on left and 3 arched <i>cailya</i> with <i>nandipada</i> above.
14	d	Copper	5	15 to	0.95 to 1	Six headed Kārttikeya as	Deer towards right, 6	

					146		in variety b, legend same as above but very incomplete	arched hill on right, tree in railing on left, <i>śrīvatsa</i> , <i>pūrṇa kalāśa</i> and <i>svastika</i> on the top, and snake at the bottom
15		e	Copper	1	126	1	Six headed Kārttikeya standing facing, with right hand raised, left on hip, spear standing on right bound with fillet. Incomplete legend same as above	Deer facing left, tree in railing on right, three arched <i>caitya</i> with <i>nandipada</i> above on left. <i>śrīvatsa</i> and <i>kalāśa</i> above.
16		f	Copper	8	71 to 121	0.9 to 1	Same as above	Deer facing left, tree in railing on right, three arched <i>caitya</i> with <i>nandipada</i> above on left, snake below
17		g	Copper	5	71 to 104	0.9 to 0.95	same as above	Deer towards left, 6 arched hill on left, tree in railing on right, <i>śrīvatsa</i> , <i>pūrṇa kalāśa</i> and <i>svastika</i> on the top
18		h	Copper	2	132 to 172.4	0.95 to 1	Same as above	Deer towards right, 6 arched hill on left, <i>kalāśa</i> and legend <i>drama</i> above the deer
19		i	Copper	1	152	0.9	Similar as above, but the deity is Śiva (?) with a trident and single headed	Deer facing right towards 6 arched hill. Rest is illegible
20	4	round	Copper	1	126	0.9	3 arched hill with a crescent above, chain like symbol, partial legend ... <i>Bhānuva</i>	Trident
21	5	Square	Copper	1	9.5	0.5	Bull to right, legend (<i>Yau</i>) <i>dh(e)y(a)n(am)</i> above	Illegible
22		a/ round	Copper	10	157 to 177	0.9 to 1	Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in right hand and left hand on hip; peacock to left, at his left foot; legend <i>Yaudheyāganasya jaya</i>	Female deity walking towards left with right hand raised and left hand on hip, border of dots around the coin
23	6	b	Copper	9	160 to 177	0.9 to 1	Same as above with addition of <i>dvi</i> in the legend	Same as above, with addition of <i>kalāśa</i> on left and inverted <i>nandipada triratna</i> on right
24		c	Copper	4	159 to 172	0.9 to 1	Same as Variety a with addition of legend <i>tri</i> at the end	Similar to variety a, with addition <i>śankha</i> on left and <i>cakra</i> on right
25		d	Copper	1	141	1	Same as variety a	As in variety c

Table :3 Showing Sites Yielding Yaudheya Coins (General)				
Sno.	Site (Alphabetically)		Reference	
1.	Abohar	Firozpur, Punjab	Cunningham	1882
2.	Ajudhan	Punjab, Pakistan	Cunningham	1882
3.	Akalgarh and Sunam*	Sangrur, Punjab	Cunningham	1882
4.	Anvali	Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
5.	Asandh	Haryana	Manmohan Kumar and Gupta	1978
6.	Atayal	Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
7.	Baghaura	Faridabad, Haryana	Olaf Prufer	1951
8.	Bahawalpur	Punjab, Pakistan	Cunningham	1882,1888
9.	Beshat	Saharanpur, U.P	Captain Cautely/ Princep	1834/1858
10.	Bhatner,	HanumanGarh, Rajasthan	Cunningham	1882
11.	Bhiwani	Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
12.	Bijnor	UP		
13.	Bishan*	Rohtak, Haryana	Manmohan Kumar	1991
14.	Chakrata*	Dehradun, Uttarakhand	P.Dayal	1936
15.	Dadri*	Bhiwani, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
16.	Dehradun	Uttarakhand	Bajpai	
17.	Depalpur	Pakistan	Cunningham	1882
18.	Dhanasia,	Ganganagar, Rajasthan	Handa	
19.	Hansi	Haryana	Cunningham, Rodgers	1882/1892
20.	Kharjaydah	Sonipat, Haryana	Rodgers	1892
21.	Hapur	UP	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
22.	Hastinapura	UP	B.B. Lal, <i>Ancient India</i>	1950-52
23.	Hisar	Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
24.	Jagadhari	Yamuna Nagar, Punjab	Cunningham	1882
25.	Jaijivanti*	Jind, Haryana	Uttam Singh Rao	1962
26.	Jakhal*	Sangrur, Punjab	Handa	1971
27.	Jasat*	Gurgaon Haryana	Mohinder singh/Handa	1991
28.	Kahrur	Lodhran, Pakistan	Cunningham	1882
29.	Karauntha*	Rohtak, Haryana	Saraswati	1970
30.	Jhajjar	Haryana	Saraswati	1970
31.	Kharkhanda*	Sonipat, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965

32.	Khokrakot*	Rohtak, Haryana	Rodger/ Sahni/ Saraswati/ Handa	1892/1945/ 1970/ 1991
33.	Landsdowne	Garhwal, Uttarakhand	Birbal Sahni/ Kala	1951/1956
34.	Malhana*	Sonipat, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya/ Manmohan Kumar	1965/1970/ 1993
35.	Mandi	Himachal Pradesh	L.C Gupta/ A.M. Shastri	1985/1987
36.	Meerut	UP	IAR	1972-73
37.	Meham*	Rohtak, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
38.	Mohanbari*	Jhajjar, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
39.	Multan	Pakistan	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
40.	Muradnagar*	Meerut, UP	Bajpai	1976
41.	Naurangabad- Bamla*	Rohtak, Haryana	Saraswati	1970
42.	Pallu	Rajasthan	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
43.	Pandusar	Rajasthan	KK Dasgupta/ Handa	1976/ 1978
44.	Panipat	Haryana	Bajpai	1976
45.	Panjya	Dehradun, Uttarakhand	P.Dayal	1940
46.	Purana Qila*	New Delhi	B.B. Lal	1969-70, 1970-71
47.	Rang Mahal	Rajasthan	Handa	1976, 1978
48.	Rewari	Haryana	K.K Dasgupta	1976
49.	Sambhar	Rajasthan	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1976
50.	Satgarha	Pakistan	K.K Dasgupta	1976
51.	Sidipur-Lova	Rohtak, Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
52.	Sirsa	Haryana	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
53.	Sonipat	Haryana	Cunningham/ Rodger	1882/1892
54.	Sugh	Yamunanagar, Haryana	Cunningham/Rodger [#] / Handa	1888/ 1892/ 2006, 2007
55.	Sunam	Sangrur, Punjab	Cunningham	1882
56.	Sunet	Haryana	Handa	1988
57.	Tehri	Uttarakhand	Cunningham/Rodgers	1882/1892
<p>* Their district has been marked in the map instead of these sites. [#] Rodgers included the finds at Sugh with that in Jagadhari</p>				

Sno.	Name of Site	Nature/Number of find	Reference	
1	Baghaura	1	O, Prifer	1951
2	Bhiwani	Uncertain, found with class 2 moulds	U.S. Rao	1962
3	Khokrakot	Uncertain	Sahni/ Saraswati	1945/1970
4	Muradnagar	24	Bajpai	1976
5	Jagadhari	Uncertain	Rodger/Handa	1882/1991
6	Behat	Uncertain	Princep	1858
7	Hastinapur	6	B.B Lal	1950-52
8	Purana Qila, Delhi	Uncertain	IAR	1954-55, 1969-70, 1971-72
9	Meerut	Uncertain	IAR	1972-73
10	Sonipat	Uncertain	Cunningham	1882

Scholars are of unanimous view that Class 1 and Class 4 coins of Allan's catalogue can not be attributed to issue Yaudheyas and are independent issues of local rulers (See pp: 45). Thus these have not been represented either on the table or map. Further, because of proximity in the fabric and legend in Class 2 coins and Class 5 coins, they have been clubbed together in the Table 4.

S.no.	Name of Site	Nature/Number of Find	Reference	
1	Panjya and Chakrata	165	P. Dayal	1940
2	Landsdowne	56 out of 116	S.C. Kala	1956
3	Chakkar	42 out of 536 are Class 3 coins	L.C Gupta	1985
4	Jagadhari	uncertain	Rodgers	1882

Table 6: Sites of Class 6 Coins				
S.no.	Name of Site	Nature/Number of Find	Reference	
1	Jaijaivanti	5 (4 uncertain)	Uttam Singh Rao	1938-39/ 1962
2	Muradnagar, (Meerut)UP	800	Bajpai	1976
3	Sonipat	uncertain	Cunningham	1882
4	Malhana near sonipat	6000	Bhagwan deva Acharya/ Saraswati/ Handa	1965/1970/1991
5	Hisar	170	Bhagwan deva Acharya	1965
6	Khokrakot, Rohtak	23	Sahni /Saraswati/ Handa	1945/1970/1991
7	Behat	Uncertain	Princep	1858
8	Kharkhauda	Uncertain	Rodger/ Allan	1882/1936
9	Meerut	7	IAR	1972-73
10	Jasat, Gurgaon	3	Mohinder Singh/ Handa	1991

Table 7: Cultural sequence at Early Historical sites yielding Yaudheya coins

Name of Site / Date	Hastinapur [❖]	Sunet	Khokrakot	Kurukshetra	Sugh	Purana Qila
1200 A.D.	Period V Up to 1400			Period III Up to 1400		# Sultanate Period
1000				?		
800				Break		Rajput Period
600	Break	Period VI Early Medieval				Post Gupta Period
400		Period V Gupta	Period IV Gupta			Gupta Period
200			Sub-period III C Post- Kuṣāṇa	Period II (Red polished Ware)	Period II (NBPW)	Śaka - Kuṣāṇa Period **
0	Period IV **	Period IV Śunga - Kuṣāṇa	Sub-period III B Kuṣāṇa			
B.C. 200	Break		Sub-period III A Pre-Kuṣāṇa	Period I (NBPW)		Śunga Period
400	Period III (NBPW)	Period III (Black Slipped Ware etc)	Period II (NBPW)		Period I	Maurya Period
600	Break				Sub-Period I B	
800	?	Period II (PGW)	Period I (PGW)		Sub-period IA (PGW)	
1000	Period III (PGW)					
1200	?	Break				
1400	?	Period I				
	Natural Soil	Late Harappa Period I From 1800				

❖ Lal, B.B. *Ancient India*, 10 and 11, 1954 and 1955:24, fig.5 # This site also has occupation in Mughal Period

** Period in which Yaudheya Coins were found during excavation.

Chapter II

Identifying Yaudheyas: Their Polity, Society and Neighbours

The large number of coins and seals found from north-western India has always made scholars curious about identifying the Yaudheyas and understanding their political and social history. Different methodology and approaches have been adopted by the scholars to understand the place of Yaudheyas in history. The methodology differs in terms of the sources they use to understand Yaudheyas and in the manner the sources are utilised. This chapter is a discussion of the various methodologies and approaches taken by the scholars to understand the Yaudheyas and their nature of organisation. The various approaches are:

- a) Examining the representation of Yaudheyas in traditional literature.
- b) Intrinsic study of the coins, its components like legend and motifs, weight, metal etc.
- c) Contextualised Study, in terms of
 - (i) Geographical or geopolitical context: the region and provenance where Yaudheyas coins have been found.
 - (ii) Archaeological context: stratigraphic placement of coins during excavation and associated artefact relationship.

It is also important to see if the inferences, which have been derived from the study of texts, the study of coins and from archaeological study, are compatible to one another. There has been a difference in approach of the scholars, as the purpose of looking into the sources and the research questions may have been different. In this chapter an

attempt is made to compare and contrast the information that can be gathered from the study and interpretation of these sources. Yaudheya, in terms of: the nature of the political organisation of Yaudheyas and their relationship with neighbours; contemporary political and economic systems; and position of Yaudheyas within the larger system and *tradition of coinage in respect to the process of urbanisation and state formation.*

Representations of Yaudheyas in Traditional Literature

The literary sources are considered as one of the important external sources for understanding the coins. Cribb¹ refers to this as looking at the 'documentary context' of numismatic data, i.e. analysing the references to coins or set of coins in the context of documents. He points out that 'written sources provide contemporary insights into many aspects of coinage'. Within this category he incorporates Textual, Literary and Inscriptional sources. He further divides the three categories:

- 1) Textual: Public Records/Statutes; Mint Records; Chronicles; Merchant Records etc
- 2) Literary : Historical writing- contemporary narrative and later narrative; Personal Narrative; Fiction
- 3) Inscriptional: Official; Religious/ Private

However, it needs to be mentioned here that the contextual reference which Cribb mentions is about the reference to the coins. In the case of the Yaudheyas we do not find any such mentions to Yaudheya coins, rather the references to Yaudheyas themselves are limited. The literary reference to the Yaudheyas, however, has received attention of the scholars. One of the reasons for it may be that the tradition of history writing is still

¹ Cribb, Joe, 2006, 'Money as Metaphor 2', *NC*, Vol.166: 510-11.

majorly dependent on literary sources. A majority of scholars follow the method of understanding the Yaudheyas based primarily on the basis of their representation in early textual sources.

However, we come across references to Yaudheyas in different genre of pre-modern literature. Their mention is found in grammatical works, plays, epics and *Purāṇās*. These works are considered to have spanned from early historical period to early medieval period, i.e. from c. 7th-6th century B.C., to the latest text dated to 10th century A.D. Earlier works may have been contemporary to the Yaudheyas, but those dated to period post 5th century A.D. may have represented the memories and traditions about the Yaudheyas. The information that can be extracted from various texts can be loosely classified into the following:

- 1) Genealogy
- 2) Geographical region of settlement
- 3) Nature of organisation and polity
- 4) Neighbours and their relations
- 5) Economy and occupation.

Yaudheyas in Grammatical Literature

From the grammatical literature, we find information about the political nature of Yaudheyas and the geographical area with which they are associated. Scholars generally agree that the earliest available references to the Yaudheyas in literature are in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (6-5th century B.C). Pāṇini's reference is considered the earliest surviving literary reference. However, scholars now believe that the earliest reference to be considered is by a grammarian named Śākaṭāyana, whose work is lost to us but there are references to the grammarian's work in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Nirukta* and *Vājasaneyi-*

*prātiśākhyā*². As a result it is inferred that Śākaṭāyana must have existed before 6-5th century B.C. From the texts that mention Śākaṭāyana's work³ i.e. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Nirukta* and *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhyā*, it is known that the Yaudheyas were mentioned as one of the 'śastropajīvi samgha' (a group living by the profession of arms⁴) along with others in the *sūtra* 'Dāminī-Yaudheya-Pārśvādi-Vrikāc-chājanenyan. While the Yaudheyas are mentioned as a *samgha* by Śākaṭāyana, there is also a description of those groups that formed 'Yaudheyādi gaṇa' (group of Yaudheyas and others), those are: Yaudheya, Krośeya, Dhārteya, Jyāvāneya, Trigarta, Bharata and Uśīnara.⁵

In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as well, Yaudheyas have a similar description. Yaudheyas are mentioned as 'āyudhajīvi', those who practiced warfare for living. Pāṇini had described four types of *āyudhajīvi samghas*, groups which survived through warfare.⁶ They are:

- 1) Those living in the region of Vāhīka
- 2) Those living in the mountainous regions
- 3) Nṛgas organised under the leadership of *grāmaṇī*
- 4) Vrātas, who lived on loot and raids

Agrawala⁷ identified the Vāhīka region as that falling between the Beas and Indus rivers, and Yaudheya, Kṣudrakas and Mālavas etc are considered to have belonged to this region. Shastri⁸ insists that the Yaudheyas must have had the most superior kind

² *Prātiśākhyas* are works which deal with the phonetic aspects of the Sanskrit language used in Vedas. *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhyā* is one of the four *Prātiśākhyas*. It is associated with the *Sukla Yajur Veda*. Scholars have put it in a wide time bracket. Muller has assigned this work to Kātyāyana, dating it to the second half of 4th century B.C. See Muller, Max, 1859, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London: 242..

³ Cited in, Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Prāchīn Bhārata meṃ Yaudheya Gaṇarājya*: 31-32. Also see Handa, Devendra, 2007, *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*: 149.

⁴ As translated by Handa (2007:149).

⁵ Shastri, Yogananda, *ibid*: 32

⁶ Agrawala, V.S., 1959, *India as known to Pāṇini*: 457

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ Shastri, Yogananda, *ibid*: 33.

of political organisation in comparison to the other contemporary *saṃgha* system as Pāṇini mentions the Yaudheyas twice. Shastri also points out that this practice was also considered unusual by Patañjali, and is stated in his *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd -1st century B.C.). In the time of Pāṇini the terms *saṃgha* and *gaṇa* were synonymous⁹. During this time the *saṃghas* were of two types, political and religious, but only the political *saṃghas* were called *gaṇa*. Shastri points out that even in the *Mahābhārata* the two terms are used synonymously. The representation of the Yaudheyas as a *saṃgha* in earlier works makes scholars consider the Yaudheyas as a confederacy¹⁰. Further the use of the term 'Yaudheya *gaṇa*' and 'Yaudheya *saṃgha*' both have implications for denoting a group and are used in a collective sense that would refer to an organisation of several units.

The use of terms like *gaṇa-saṃgha* and *janapada* in literary sources depicts the political nature of a region or community over a period of time. The change in the connotation of these terms in the literature over a period of time reflects the changes taking place in the society. The changing nature of description of the political nature in the texts, from Vedic to Later Vedic to Early Historical is taken as unilinear evolutionary transition from lineage based society to state. However, it is worth examining if such a transition is also visible in this region our interest, and if the reflection of changes in one region can be applied to other regions. The discussion on this aspect regarding the nature of the political changes has been taken up in the discussion on geo-political context of the Yaudheyas below.

Genealogy of Yaudheyas

We do not find any reference to the genealogy of the Yaudheyas in the grammatical literature. The first reference to any Yaudheya leader is found in *Jaiminīya*

⁹ The *śūtra* '*saṃhoddhau gaṇa praśansayoh*' is used to describe this synonymity. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: 5/3/117. Also see Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 33.

¹⁰ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*.

Brāhmaṇa (dated 7-6th century B.C). It is mentioned that, Puṇyakeśa was a Śaivya *rājā* (king) in the *rājya* (kingdom) of Yaudheyas.¹¹ It may be inferred that the Śaivyas may have been one of the subgroups within the political organisation of Yaudheya, or Yaudheyas was a confederate type of system. The *Mahābhārata*¹² and the *Purāṇas*¹³ have comparatively more information on lineage of the Yaudheyas, though these are placed in much later dates than the grammatical and *Brāhmaṇa* works. There are two theories about the origin of the Yaudheyas: 1) as descendents of Yudhiṣṭhira; 2) descendent of Uśīnara.

The *Mahābhārata* has reference to the marriage of Yudhiṣṭhira with princess Devikā, daughter of Śaivya king Govāsan. He begot a son named Yaudheya from her, who was the founder of the Yaudheyas.¹⁴ According to Yogananda Shastri, the Śaivya dynasty that has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* must have been the same as that mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*.¹⁵

The *Purāṇas* on the other hand refer to the second theory about the origin of Yaudheyas. Pargiter¹⁶ mentions that thirteen *Purāṇas* have references to royal genealogies. Out of these thirteen, nine of the *Purāṇas* mention about the genealogy of Ānavas, descendents of Anu, one of the five lineages considered as belonging to the lunar race.¹⁷ The seventh king after Anu, Mahāmanasa, had two sons, Uśīnara and Titikṣu, under whom the Ānavas were divided into two branches: Uśīnara and his

¹¹ 'Puṇyakeśo Yaudheyarājye Śaivyo rājā' in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*: 2:13. Also see, Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Ibid*: 18.

¹² The *Mahābhārata* can not be entirely ascribed to a century or so, the epic is the result of compilation over centuries. According to E.W. Hopkins, while some sections have been dated to 400 B.C, there were additions even in 400 A.D. See, Hopkins, E.W., 1901, *The Great Epic of India: Its Character and Origin*, New York: 397-398.

¹³ It is difficult to fix a date to all the *Purāṇas*. There are 36 *Purāṇas*, out of which 18 are considered as *Mahāpurāṇas*. It is in these that the genealogies are mentioned. The *Purāṇas*, may have been compiled over a period of many centuries, and the most acceptable general attribution is from Gupta period to 9th - 10th century A.D.

¹⁴ *Mahābhārata, Ādiparvā*: 95, 76. Also see Sharan, M.K, 1972, *Ibid*: 65. Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Ibid*: 17.

¹⁵ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 18.

¹⁶ Pargiter, F. E., 1962, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi: 5

¹⁷ Pargiter, F.E., *Ibid*: 85, 89, 108, 109.

descendents occupied Punjab; Titikṣu founded a new kingdom towards the east. Uśīnara had five successors, one of which is mentioned as Nṛga, who according to Pargiter may have been an ancestor of the Yaudheyas.¹⁸ According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Yudhiṣṭhira's queen's name was Yaudheyī, and their son was named Devaka. Yaudheyī may have been princess of the Yaudheyas, who have been mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as Kṣatriyas.¹⁹

Taking into consideration this difference scholars point out that the references within the *Mahābhārata* that may be considered contradictory to the theory that Yaudheyas descended from Yudhiṣṭhira. It is to show that the Yaudheyas already existed as a clan or political organisation even before the time of Pāṇḍavas, rather may have had a prominent enough position that the eldest of the Pāṇḍava princes, Yudhiṣṭhira married a Yaudheya princess, who has been called Yaudheyī.²⁰ In *Sabhāparva*, it is mentioned that while his campaign to the west of Indraprastha Nakula had to face the Yaudheyas, who had established cities and a well established *gaṇa* system.²¹ Also in *Sabhāparva* they brought presents for the Pāṇḍavās as tribute.²² In *Droṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* the Yaudheyas have been mentioned in association with the Trigartas, Mālavas, Ambaṣṭhas and Śibis. These groups are said to have fought from the side of the Kauravas against the Pāṇḍavas vowing to kill Arjuna.²³

Sharan²⁴ and Shastri²⁵ are of view that all these instances which can be found in the *Mahābhārata*, indicate that these Yaudheyas, who are referred to above, could not have been Yudhiṣṭhira's descendants, as it is not possible that they could establish their control over a large part of geographical region to the west of Indraprastha, and

¹⁸ Pargiter, F.E., *Ibid*.

¹⁹ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*: IV, 20, 44.

²⁰ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*

²¹ *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva*: 32; 2-7. *Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva*: 166; 1, 11. Also see, Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Ibid*: 68, 69. Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 19

²² *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva*: 48; 14-15. Also see Sharan, M.K., *Ibid*: 68. Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*.

²³ *Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva*: 19; 13-18.

²⁴ Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Tribal Coins: A Study*, Abhinav Pub., Bodh Gaya: 69-73.

²⁵ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 18, 19.

established a kingdom large enough to have given resistance to Nakula's army. On the basis of these arguments it is suggested that if the origin of Yaudheyas and their genealogy is to be considered on the basis of literature then they prefer to consider Yaudheyas as descendants of Uśīnara.

Shastri also disagrees with Cunningham's and Allan's view that Yaudheya has its derivation from the term *yodh*. Shastri points that according to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, it is the term '*yudha*' that can be derived from *yodh*, and not Yaudheya.²⁶ On this basis he suggests that it is possible that Nṛga was their father and mother's name may have been Yudha.

There is noticeable absence of description of genealogy in the texts prior to 4th century B.C. Romila Thapar²⁷ has tried to analyse the need and social implications of tracing the lineage. She suggests that genealogies relate to past and claim to be records of succession and their preservation (or fabrication) is dependent on social institution and the tracing lineage from past provide legitimizing mechanisms. She suggests that genealogies became the reference point for the rights to ownership, succession and right to status.

Romila Thapar's study²⁸ suggests that changing nature and patterns of recording of genealogies also reflects the transition in the society and social system. The Ānvas (descendants of Anu) are described in the *Mahābhārata* as the ancestors of *mlecchas* and Yavanas (who are also the *vrātya-kṣatriyas*, those surviving on loot etc.) as the descendants of Turvaśa²⁹. Thapar suggests that from the description in the *Mahābhārata* it seems that these are the groups that were ranked as *sankīrṇa-jātis* (mixed castes) in the

²⁶ *Ibid*: 27.

²⁷ Thapar, Romila, 1976 [1979], 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History', in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, ed. by Thapar, Romila, Orient Longman, New Delhi: 287-316.

²⁸ *Ibid*: 304-305

²⁹ *Ādi Parva*, 80.1.

Dharmaśāstras and because of their political important had been inducted in the *varṇa* system with *śūdra* status and further into the *jāti* structure. She further mentions that the reference to them as *kṣatriyas* in genealogies reflects their transition from *jana* to *jāti*³⁰, which was a concession due to their political power. The assignment of particular lineage probably depended on the geographical proximity, the political authority and status of the new group.³¹

Other Literature

Yaudheyas have also been identified to have been represented in non-indigenous literature, mostly in the writing of historians who wrote about Alexander's campaigns. Curtius³² describes about a country beyond the Beas River as an exceedingly fertile region, where the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war, and living under the excellent system of internal government; this region for multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation. The people of this region are said to have more and better elephants than other Indians. Strabo's representation is also similar, who stated that the government of this region consisted of 5000 councillors, each of whom furnished the state with an elephant. Jayaswal³³ points that Kauṭilya's account of some *gaṇa* as *vārttāśastropajīvinah* (those given to industry and trade, and warfare) bears similarity to what had been mentioned by Strabo. Jayaswal considers that there is good possibility that the un-named group here is that of the Yaudheyas.

³⁰ Here the transition which is suggested seems to reflect the transition from a lineage based society to more complex caste based society. The discussion about the political and social nature of the Yaudheyas has been continued in section III of this chapter.

³¹ Thapar, Romila, *Ibid.*: 304.

³² Cited in, Cunningham, A, *CAI*: 77. Also see, Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Tribal Coins- A Study*: 82,83.

³³ Jayaswal, K.P., 1943, *Hindu Polity*: 144

The reference to Yaudheyas in literature can also be seen in a 10th century text. This should not be very surprising as some of the *Purāṇas* have also been dated to 9-10 century A.D, and mention about Yaudheyas. Sharan³⁴ points that a 10th century text *Yaśastilaka*, authored by Somadeva Sūrī contemporary to Raja Kṛṣṇa, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, gives the description of Rājpur as capital of the Yaudheya country. Somadeva Sūrī was a Jaina monk who wrote the text to promote Jainism. Ishwari Prasad³⁵ mentioned that the *jats* who had opposed the army of Mahmud Gazanavi, on his return journey from Somnātha were none other than the Yaudheyas.

Neighbours of Yaudheyas

The information in the sources has been interpreted differently by scholars. According to Buddha Prakash³⁶, Pāṇḍavas were ethnically and socially different from the Kurus. The epic editors attempted to blanket these differences and represent them as branches of same family. The five Pāṇḍava princes could be associated with the states and political organisations present in the pre-independent Punjab region³⁷:

- 1) Arjuna is associated with Central Asiatic states of Kuca and Karashahr, and Śakas when they shifted east Indus they were called Ārjunāyanas
- 2) Bhīma associated with Vṛkas, as he was also called Vṛkodara.
- 3) Yudhiṣṭhira associated with Yaudheya. The name Yudhiṣṭhira has its root from 'yudha' meaning fight, and Yaudheyas also are mentioned as *āyudhajīvī samgha*. Also the references to Yaudheyas as Yudhiṣṭhira's son in *Purāṇas* are emphasised.
- 4) Nakula and Sahadeva are associated with Madra as their mother was Mādri.

³⁴ Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Ibid*:75

³⁵ Prasad, Ishwari, 1966, *History of Medieval India*: 99

³⁶ Prakash, Buddha, 1964, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi:

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³⁷ *Ibid*: 92 -107

On the basis of the references in the *Purāṇas*, where Uśīnara is considered ancestor of Yaudheyas, the other descendents of the former, Ambaṣṭhas, Navarāṣṭras, Kṛimilas and Śivis (Śibis?) had kingdoms contemporary to the Yaudheyas.

The information that can be gathered from the textual references is quite varied, as the purpose of none of the above discussed literature was to trace history. It becomes important for us to look in to the coins, as these are considered to be the objects of history, which were witnesses of history.

Yaudheyas as Understood by study of the Coins

The intrinsic study of the coins refers to the study of the features of coins that are known from the coin itself. The various aspects in Yaudheya coins that can be and have been studied are:

- a) Legends on the various types of coins
- b) Coin designs and the motifs used.
- c) Metal used and weight pattern.^π
- d) Technique of manufacture of coins.

Within these categories it is important to identify how the Yaudheya coins are related to the coins of their contemporary polities. If these depict any similarity or continuity with

^π The issue of the use of metal type for coin production and the weight standards adopted that may have been adopted by Yaudheyas shall be discussed in next Chapter, as these when discussed in context of the economy, would help in understanding the nature of monetary system of Early Historic northern-western India.

the coins that predate the Yaudheya coins, are contemporary and succeed the Yaudheya coinage.

Coin Legends

The legends on the coins of Yaudheyas and how they changed over the time has attracted the attention of scholars. The use of different terms and their placements have been discussed by scholars to understand the nature of Yaudheya organisation, and also its relation with its neighbours. The similarity of legends or the grammatical style of inscriptions is compared and contrasted with other contemporary issues of coin issuing communities. The coin types and their association with their contemporaries have been discussed below.*

Interpretations through Class 2/5 coins (Āgreya-Yaudheya Merger): Before the Christian era, on the basis of the coins found, the *janapadas* which were contemporary to Yaudheyas are the Āgreyas, Sibis, Rājanyas and Trigartas.³⁸ The coins issued by these *janapadas* and the Yaudheya coins that were contemporary to them were of following types:

Āgreya: 1) *Agodake agāca janapadasa*

2) *agāca mitpadābhithāyinām*

Rājanya: *Rājaña janapadasa*

Śibi : 1) *śibi janapadasa*

2) *Majjhikāya śibi janapadasa*

Trigarta: *tragata janapadasa*

* Only Legends in the Class 2/5, 5 and 6 have been discussed in this section. The Class 1 and Class 4 coins have not been discussed as these coins have been unanimously considered not ascribable to Yaudheyas. See Chapter 1.

³⁸ *Ibid*: 74.

Yaudheyas: 1) *Yaudheyānām bahudhānyake*

2) *Yaudheyānām*

Shastri points that all these janapadas used the term *janapadasa* on their coins apart from Yaudheya. The Yaudheyas coins that were contemporaneous to these coins did not bear the term *janapadasa*.

According to Shastri³⁹ before 2nd century B.C. Āgreyas were neighbour to Yaudheyas, and had their own identity. He also refers to their reference in the *Mahābhārata's Vanaparva* as a separate order stating that they had their capital at Agroha. At Agroha, two types of Āgreya coins have been found dating back to 2nd century B.C. These were classified on the basis of their legends: 1) *Agodake agāca janapadasa*; 2) *Agāca mitrapadābhīṣṭhāyinām* (in Sanskrit *agāca mitrapadābhīṣṭhāyinām*). The second legend, is explained by Shastri as '(coins) of Āgreyas who lived in the region/territory of their ally'. Shastri suggests that in post 2nd century B.C., the Āgreyas merged with the Yaudheyas. Their alliance resulted in change of legends on their coins. The Āgreyas dropped the name of Agodake (Agrodaka), which is considered as the name of their capital/territory and the term '*janapadasa*' and used the term *mitrapada* (ally's territory). Similarly the Yaudheyas too dropped the term '*bahudhānyake*' from their coins, which may have denoted the name of their territory. Shastri is of view that after the two groups may have merged through alliance, their territories also merged and the geographical region occupied by the allied groups expanded beyond the *Bahudhānyake* region. He suggested that both Āgreyas and Yaudheyas discontinued the use of the name of their territories and continued only with their names. Shastri⁴⁰ agrees to what P.L Gupta⁴¹ had also pointed, that the discontinued the use of the term *janapada*

³⁹ Shastri, Y, *Ibid*: 76-77

⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴¹ Gupta, P.L., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 27:200.

and the non-use of the same term by Yaudheyas signifies that the two groups left their individual identity as a political unit and merged to form a *samgha*.

Shastri⁴² explains that one of the reasons for the formation of this *samgha* must have been the threat of invasion of the Indo-Greeks from the west. Post 2nd Century B.C., Menander and his successors may have forced the Āgreyas to leave their territory and occupied Agroha, which is corroborated by the discovery of the Indo-Greek coins from Agroha.⁴³ Shastri suggests that the date for the merger must be before Christian Era, and by the time of early Christian era, there are no Āgreya coins found. It is understood by him as the complete merge of Āgreyas with the Yaudheyas, since Yaudheyas must have been dominant and had larger territory they continued to issue coins in their names even later.

Interpretations of Class 3 coins and Class 6 coins (Kuninda, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheya Confederacy[†]): In the areas near the Dehradun region we only find the coins with legend 'Bhāgavatasvāmino Brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya' (Class 3 coins). Shastri⁴⁴ opines that these coins can be dated to 2nd century A.D. He further points that non existence of any other Yaudheya coin prior to this in Dehradun, Chakrata and Garhwal region, refers to absence of Yaudheya occupation of this region. Yaudheyas only came to this region because of defeat at the hands of Kuṣāṇas. At the time of Huviṣka they had to leave their *Bahudhānyaka* region, and move towards the mountainous region in to establish their supremacy. At this time the Kuṇindas were in geographical proximity with Yaudheyas, with their occupation in region north to Ambala in the Kangra region. The Ārjunāyanas were situated towards the south to Yaudheyas in the region around Agra and Mathura.

⁴² Shastri, Y, *Ibid*: 78

⁴³ Srivastava, H.L., *Excavation at Agroha, Punjab: Memoirs of ASI*, No.61.1991.

[†] For coin types of Kuṇinda and Ārjunāyanas, and their provenance see Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Shastri, Y, *Ibid*: 71.

Shastri⁴⁵ points that Kuṇindas, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas come into confederation to defeat the Kuṣāṇas, and made expansions after the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka had died. He states that it can be suggested that even after the defeat of Kuṣāṇas, the Yaudheyas must have retained this region, as the region did not yield early Gupta coins. He refers to the possibility of occupation of the Garhwal region by Yaudheyas till the time of Samudragupta's expansion.

Scholars have tried to understand the nature of the confederacy that developed, and suggest that the Class 6 coins were issued after the confederation was formed.⁴⁶ What is further debated is the possible significance of term 'dvi' and 'tri' found in the varieties of Class 6 coins. A.S. Altekar⁴⁷ agrees to Allan⁴⁸ that the coins with legend 'dvi' and 'tri' indicate that these belong to the 2nd and 3rd sections of the tribe respectively, which were in his writing three confederating units of Yaudheya power, which is visible from the use of the 'dvi' and 'tri' legends in the coins varieties of Class 6 coins. He suggested the possibility of the representation of Kuṇindas and Ārjunāyana sections of the *gaṇa* after their union. Altekar had also ascribed territory to the three federating units: 1) Rohtak in Punjab as capital of one; 2) Northern Pāñcāla, known as the Bahudhānyaka, was the centre of second and; 3) Northern Rajputana occupied by third.⁴⁹

The argument propounded by Altekar was carried forward by other scholars. According to Ghoshal⁵⁰ the confederation came in to existence in c. 200 A.D., when the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas formed a union. After the union of the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 71, 80-81

⁴⁶ The issuance of the Class 6 coins had been explained by Cunningham, Smith and Allan as commemorative of their victory.

⁴⁷ Altekar, A.S., 1955, *State and Government in Ancient India*: 119

⁴⁸ Allan, J., *BMC*: cxlix.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Ghoshal, U.N., 1957, 'Political Organisation (Post Mauryan): North India', in *CHI, Vol. 2*: 342, 346. Also see Sharan, M.K., *Ibid.*: 75.

three *janapadas* succeeded to uproot the Kuṣāṇas, commemorative coins were issued that bore the legend *Yaudheyaganasya jaya* (Class 6 coins of Allan's catalogue). This coin was intended to assert the success of Yaudheyas in war and their proclamation as independent. Ghoshal and Shastri⁵¹ suggest that the two other groups, i.e. Ārjunāyanas and Kuṇindas, formed the two added sections of the Yaudheyas, and voluntarily shed their individual titles. These sections may have been represented as 'dvi' and 'tri' in Yaudheya coins, that have been categorised by Allan as Class 6 in his catalogue (see table 2). It is also suggested by Shastri,⁵² that the conglomeration of the three *janapadas* was permanent, and Ārjunāyanas and Kuṇindas got completely merged with the Yaudheyas, to form a *saṃgha* that continued to be called Yaudheya because it was the most powerful and largest. He furthers this argument by referring to:

- 1) the absence of the coins of Kuṇinda and Ārjunāyanas after the decline of Kuṣāṇas, while the number of Yaudheya coins are quite high in this period.
- 2) the inclusion of the term '*gana*' by Yaudheyas in the Class coins 6 coins, that bears the legend *Yaudheyaganasya jaya*.
- 3) Use of the terms '*dvi*' and '*tri*'.

This argument has been also followed by the recent works of Handa⁵³ and Mann⁵⁴. It is suggested by scholars⁵⁵ that Yaudheyas continued to exist as a *ganasaṃgha* (a confederacy of republican nature) till 5th century AD. After which the Yaudheyas disappeared and their republican or *gana* coinage also came to an end by c.400 A.D.

⁵¹ Shastri, Y., *ibid.* 72-74.

⁵² Shastri, Y, *Ibid.*: 84-90

⁵³ Handa, Devendra, 1979, 'Sectional Yaudheya Coins' in *The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, Vol.2, 1978-79: 31-32. Also see, Handa, Devendra, 1983, 'Bearing of the Yaudheya Coin Mould from Sunet on Sectional Yaudheya Coins, in *Punjab University Research Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, October:5-7.

⁵⁴ Mann, Richard. *Ibid.* 100-101.

⁵⁵ Sharan, M.K. *Ibid.*: 85; Shastri, Y, *Ibid.*

Sharan suggests that the reason for end of the Yaudheya *samgha* may be that they, along with other neighbouring *janapadas*, adopted a monarchical form of government.⁵⁶

Apart from this interpretation of the inscription on Class 6 coins, other scholars propound different explanations about the 'dvi' and 'tri' inscriptions. Jayachandra Vidyalankar⁵⁷ suggested that the two terms should rather be understood as re-emergence of Yaudheyas thrice after being uprooted thrice. Shastri⁵⁸ explains that this argument has problems, as the coins with the inscriptions *dvi/ tri* show similar characteristic and belonged to the same time period. If they would have been successive in nature as a result of decline and re-emergence of the Yaudheyas then it would have taken a considerable difference in the time period of their issue.

Jai Prakash⁵⁹ opines that the Class 6 coins cannot be taken to have been issued to commemorate the victory of Yaudheyas over the Kuṣāṇas, merely on the basis of their similarity with the coins of Kuṣāṇas. The word *jayah* may have been used with the intention that it meant 'be victorious' and may have been used as a term of benediction. This pattern of legend as in Class 6 coins of Yaudheyas, is also found in the coins of Ārjunāyanas, and Mālawas. Jai Prakash points that the Ārjunāyanas were the first to use such legend, whose coins have been dated to 100 B.C. on the basis of the palaeographic study. The Mālawas may have been the second to use the legend as their coins with the legend '*Mālavānām Jayah*' is dated between early second to 4th century A.D, and that Yaudheyas could have borrowed the legend from any of the two groups. He further opines that the Yaudheyas are not known to have allied themselves with any other

⁵⁶ For such explanation, Sharan gives enumerated 5 reasons which were: 1) tendency of regarding monarchy as divine right may have induced the practice of hereditary presidents; 2) scope of development of monarchical state in to higher political form, i.e empire; 3) monarchical form of government had greater scope of protection against aggression; 4) more effective during war and peace; 5) some of strong president's might not have allowed others to succeed him through election. See pp: 85-86.

⁵⁷ Vidyalankar, J. 1921, 'The Date of Kanishka', *JBORS*.

⁵⁸ Shastri, Y, *ibid*: 85-86.

⁵⁹ Prakash, Jai, 1965, 'Observations on the Tribal Coinages of Ancient India', *JNSI*, Vol. 27: 135-141

power, as they are not mentioned as a *samghaor* confederation in literature. Secondly, the Kuṇindas do not seem to have had any connection with the Yaudheyas, apart from the fact that they may have been neighbours. The latest Kuṇinda coins are said to have been influenced by Kuṣāṇa copper issues. Jai Prakash Singh⁶⁰ is of view that the terms rather refer to the different mints of the Yaudheyas situated in different 'provinces of their state'.

Handa also does not ascribe to the idea of attributing the *dvi/tri* coins to different sections of the Yaudheyas, which may have confederated, rather he states that they probably denoted the politico-administrative units of Yaudheyas, with headquarters at Sunet, Naurangabad and Agroha, on the basis of the number of coin moulds and seals and sealings found from this region.⁶¹

Mann⁶² also considers that instead of 'victory to Yaudheyas', the legend may have had the connotation of 'glory to the Yaudheyas' and, thus, considering them commemorative may not be appropriate conclusion. Nor does Mann appear to agree to these being the issues of different sections of Yaudheyas.

Coin Designs

The role of coin design has to be attached to the concept of continuity as a means of maintaining the functionality of coinage within the monetary system. Jha suggests that in early Indian monetary system, the importance of the symbol or the group of symbols was to convey its value in circulation. This tradition holds ground even for PMC and uninscribed coins.⁶³

⁶⁰ Singh, Jai Prakash, 1977, 'Coinage of Tribal Republics', in *Seminar Papers*: 11.

⁶¹ Handa, Devendra, 2007, *Ibid*: 205.

⁶² Mann, R, *Ibid*: 100, 101.

⁶³ Jha, Amal K., 1991, 'Introduction', in *Coinage, Trade and Economy: The 3rd International Colloquium*, ed. by Jha, Amal K.: viii-ix.

The study of coin designs, their fabric and the motifs has often been used to understand the relations of one coin issuing group with the other. Similarities and use of common symbols can be understood as existence of mutual relations, political influence or even the need to conform to the pre-existing coinage tradition. Joe Cribb and O. Boppearachchi⁶⁴ have specified the dominant style and characteristics that mark the Hellenistic influence on coins of early historic period found in the north-western region of the subcontinent. There are two main types of style and design according to these scholars: a) royal portraits; b) divine representation. The basic Greek coin design featured a royal portrait on one side of coin and on the other a divine image, in form of either a deity or symbols associated with them. It is not unusual that the side that was to bear a divine image may instead bear name and title of the issuing king. The local coins that had influence of these characteristic were also found to have bilingual script for their inscription.⁶⁵ Such influence is visible in the coins of Kuṇindas and Auḍumbaras, as has been stated above. Kuṇindas, Auḍumbaras and even the coins of Ārjunāyanas bore bilingual scripts, which are Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī. The bimetallic issues also showed some of the influence of the Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa traditions of coinage. Yaudheyas used copper or bronze in their coins, Class 3 variety (a) (of Allan's classification) being the only exception that is a silver issue. (see Table 2). In this section an attempt has been made to look at the coin designs and motifs that were used in the Class 2/5, 3 and 6 coins of Yaudheyas.

Class 2/5 coins are found to be made of potin and copper/ bronze. However, scholars have reported that, these coins after being produced may have been plated with

⁶⁴ Cribb, Joe and O. Boppearachchi, 1992, 'Coin Designs as Evidence of the Art History', in *The Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol*, ed. By Elizabeth Errington, Joe Cribb et. al., Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge: 48-51.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*: 49.

silver. Of about two dozens coins from Muradnagar, Meerut District, Bajpai⁶⁶ noticed about 10 to have been silver-plated. Specimens of bronze Yaudheya coins of same Class from Naurangabad were also reported to have traces of the wash of silver alloy by Omananda Saraswati. Sahni⁶⁷ also reports a Class 2 coin originally cast in bronze later plated in white metal in a private collection at Luknow.

These coins are also called bull-elephant type, as the most important motifs on the coins are that of bull facing an unidentified object, which is considered as sacrificial post or *yūpa* by Allan⁶⁸ and Banerjea⁶⁹ on obverse and an elephant on reverse.

Allan⁷⁰ suggests that the design of these coins show a relationship between the Yaudheyas and another group the Ārjunāyanas. Coins of the latter are rare but some depict a bull before a *yūpa* like object on the reverse much like Yaudheya Class 2 obverse design. While, no other group uses the *yūpa* like object, the elephant and humped bull devices are common on local Indian coinage from this time period. The humped bull or elephant motif is also found on Audumbara coinage, Ayodhya coins of Satyamitra, Kaushambi coins of Br̥haspatimitra II and Dhanadeva, and coins found from Taxila (as has been suggested by Allan). But most of these above mentioned coin types are geographically distant enough to be of direct influence. However there is some possible relationship, suggested by Mann⁷¹, between Audumbara and Yaudheya coinage because of their geographical proximity, though it is difficult to formulate a direct influence.

⁶⁶ Bajpai, K.D., 1973, "Yaudheya Coins- A Critical Study", *JNSI* Vol. -XXXV: 90-94.

⁶⁷ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*.

⁶⁸ Allan, *BMC*: cxlviii.

⁶⁹ Banerjea, J.N., 1960, 'Interpretation of a Few Symbols on Some Tribal Coins of Ancient India', *JNSI*, XXII: 43-44.

⁷⁰ Allan, J, *ibid*: lxxxvii – lxxxix.

⁷¹ Mann, R, 2007, *ibid*: 55-57.

It is noteworthy that there is no clear influence reported from Indo-Greek coinage on Class 2 coins of Yaudheyas. According to Dasgupta⁷², there is direct borrowing of Indo-Greek style by Auḍumbaras and Kuṇindas from the 1st century cent BC. O.C. Handa⁷³ opines that this borrowing of Indo-Greek coin designs suggest shared trade and cultural influence, as there have been cases of their being found together. This trade route connection is also suggested by Bajpai⁷⁴ when he mentions that the trade route moving from Kuṇinda to Indo-Greek kingdom passed through Audumbaras territory. The Auḍumbaras and Kuṇinda coins show influence of the Indo-Greek coins, as they also have silver issues.

The Class 3 coins of Yaudheyas shows a remarkable difference in the style of fabric and also the motifs and symbol used. Neither bull nor elephant continued to be used. Instead we find that there is representation of the deity on both obverse (male deity) and reverse (female deity), and the legend mentions the name of the deity Kumāra an epithet of Kārttikeya (see above). This deviation from their earlier type of coins i.e. Class 2 coins suggests a drastic change. This representation in Class 3 coins is quite similar to the style of the Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa coins as has been suggested by Cribb and Bopearachchi⁷⁵, i.e representation of deities on coins. The borrowing especially appears to have been from Huviṣka's coins, those bear images Uma, Kārttikeya and Śiva.⁷⁶ The only common symbol that is present in both Class 2 and Class 3 coins is the symbol of *nandipada* with three dots, commonly called *naṅḍipada triratna*.

⁷² Dasgupta, K.K, 1974, *A Tribal History of Ancient History of India: ANumismatic Approach*, Nababharat Pub., Calcutta: 56-57.

⁷³ Handa, O.C, 1984, *Numismatic Sources on Early History of Western Himalayas*, B.R. Publishing, Delhi: 132-139.

⁷⁴ Bajpai, S.G, 1989, 'Mathura: Trade Routes, Commerce and Communication Patterns, from the Post Mauryan Period to end of Kuṣāṇa Period' in *Mathura: the Cultural Heritage*, ed. D.M. Srinivasan, AIIS, New Delhi: 47.

⁷⁵ Cribb, Joe and O. Bopearachchi, 1992, *Ibid*: 48-49.

⁷⁶ Chakrabarti, Dilip, K., 1999, *India: An Archaeological History*, OUP, New Delhi: 299.

To Mann⁷⁷, Class 3 coin production appears somewhat idiosyncratic as almost every coins forms its own type. Allan⁷⁸ in his classification gave 9 varieties of Class 3 coins and Dasgupta⁷⁹ gave 15, one of which is the single silver issue. Though the Class 3 coins have varieties, in general it is agreed that the male figure on the obverse is that of Skanda. The details of the figure again vary from coin to coin, and Mann states that 12 different arrangements of bars and dots over the head/heads of Skanda can be traced.⁸⁰ On the reverse, two general types are found: a) deer facing the right towards a *caitya*; b) female who stands in *abhayamudrā* (See Table 2). There are other smaller symbols also present the background. Mann states that the other symbols are those found in 'tribal numismatics'. This phrase, i.e 'symbols of tribal numismatics', appears problematic because many of the symbols that are found, like *śrivatsa*, *nandipada*, *caitya*, tree in railing, six arched hill etc are symbols that are commonly found in the coinage of monarchies present in the Ganga valley, City coins⁸¹ and also in stamped potteries⁸² and in terracottas. Savita Sharma's⁸³ study on the ancient Indian symbols depicts a pattern of existence of most of the symbols even to the proto-historic period. The various symbols appear to have been in use in ceramics, pillars, craft, and even in the cave paintings etc. The slight variations do show variations as they may have evolved in time but as stated above even the transformations in representations are minor they can not be ignored.

Class 3 coins of Yaudheyas are considered to have shown clearest sphere of influence on coins of Kuṇindas.⁸⁴ While the Yaudheyas Class 3 coins depict Kumāra, the contemporary Kuṇinda coin type depicts Citreśvara, who is identified as Śiva, and

⁷⁷ Mann, R, 2007, *Ibid*: 67

⁷⁸ Allan, *BMC*: cl

⁷⁹ Dasgupta, K.K., 1974, *Ibid*: 203-208.

⁸⁰ Mann, R, *Ibid*: 64.

⁸¹ Allan, *BMC*:

⁸² Potteries found from Kurukshetra dated 1st-3rd century A.D. bear these symbols. (*IAR*, 1972-73: 12-13.

⁸³ Sharma, Savita, 1990, *Early Indian Symbols: Numismatic Evidence*, Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi.

⁸⁴ This similarity is advocated by many scholars. Allan, *BMC*: cxlix; Dasgupta, K.K, *Ibid*: 98-99; Mann, R, *Ibid*: 65.

similarities have been considered as a result of their geographical proximity with the Kuṣāṇas after being defeated by Huviṣka, the Kuṣāṇa king.

On the other hand Devendra Handa⁸⁵ is of the view that the *Citresvara* type should also be considered another type of Yaudheya coin, leaving out the scope of considering these coin types as indicator of their mutual influences.

In case of Class 6 coins, the obverse has a regular appearance, as it depicts a male figure standing facing the front. It is agreed commonly that the Class 6 designs are based on Kuṣāṇa coin designs, and there are examples of over-striking and re-striking of Kuṣāṇa copper currency by Yaudheyas at this stage. B.N. Mukherjee is of view that Yaudheyas were not influenced by the Kuṣāṇa coins, rather they restruck Kuṣāṇa coins, and reused the Kuṣāṇa coins as blanks.⁸⁶ The only borrowing Class 6 coins have from Class 3 coins is the appearance of Kumāra on the obverse and female deity on the reverse, however there are differences in their representations.

Symbols and Icons on Yaudheya coins and their Significance

Extensive use of the symbols and devices has been a characteristic of Indian coinage tradition. It is difficult to ascertain the origin of these symbols, but their religious significance has been upheld by scholars from time to time. Many symbols signify *mangala* i.e., benediction and auspiciousness which can be traced back to earliest form of visual representation on pottery, coins and inscriptions. Their meanings are not only related to their representation on coins but on inscription, on temples, pottery etc. The role of such symbols and devices on coins may have been a) to legitimise the coin issue when the some devices may have served as heraldic emblems⁸⁷; b) for benediction⁸⁸; c)

⁸⁵ Handa, Devendra, 2007, *Ibid*: 206.

⁸⁶ Mukherjee, B.N., 2004, *Kushana Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Indian Museum: 13.

⁸⁷ Jha, A.K., 1991, 'Introduction', in *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, ed. by Jha, A.K.: viii.

economising the effort as the symbols have the ability to convey more within smaller space⁸⁹. The devices and symbols found in Yaudheya coins have been discussed below. While the symbols are easily identified, the human figures represented in the Yaudheya coins have been identified as deities based on the objects, animals and icons that they are depicted with.

Śrīvatsa: This *śrīvatsa* is considered one of the most auspicious and significant symbol in Vaiṣṇavite, Jaina and Buddhist iconography. This symbol at chest is representative of the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* (sign of great person)⁹⁰. The symbol is depicted on the chest of Viṣṇu and also on palm of Buddha in many sculptures and images.

Svastika: The *Svastika* is considered to represent the movement of the sun and was recognised as one of the *Aṣṭamangalas* or eight auspicious marks.⁹¹ The symbol has been found in uninscribed coins, coins found from Taxila and Ujjaini also.⁹² Its earliest visual representation is traced back to Mohenjodaro seals.⁹³ Apart from its representation on coins, it is found in the arts of Maurya, Śunga and Kuṣānas period at Pataliputra, Bahrut and Sanchi.

Nandipada Triratna and Taurine: The name is derived from the feet of Nandi (Śiva's bull).⁹⁴ The symbol is popular in both Vedic and Pūrāṇic traditions. The symbol has two aspects: first, *nandipada* is associated with Nandi and; second, *triratna* is

⁸⁸ Sarkar, H, and B.M. Pande, 1999, *Symbols and Graphic Representation in Indian Inscriptions*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi: 2-3

⁸⁹ Shastri, Y., 1999: 149.

⁹⁰ Sharma, Savita, 1990, *Ibid*

⁹¹ Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, 1977, *Coins and Icons*: 55

⁹² Allan, *BMC*: 3,5,6,8-15.

⁹³ Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *Ibid*.



⁹⁴ Sharma, Savita, *Ibid*: 100-103

associated with *Trisūla* of Śiva and 3 jewel and 3 principles of Buddhism and Jainism respectively.⁹⁵

Temple: The Yaudheya coins have various types of temple figures. Handa, has studied the various representations on the coins, and on the basis of the number of pillars represented and the number of domes opines that there may have been Hellenic influence on their representation. He also suggests that various types of temples having domed, vaulted or wagon-shaped, flat or triangular spires represents dedication to different deities like Śiva, Indra, Kubera, Sūrya and others.⁹⁶

Śiva: On Yaudheya coins, Śiva has been identified in two forms. On the Class 3 coins, the deity is represented in standing posture, facing front with trident in his right hand and his left hand on the hip (*kaṭihasta* position)⁹⁷. Another form of representation is that on the *Citrēśvara* type, where he is represented seated and trampling under his feet the crouching figure of Apasmāra Puruṣa.

Kārttikeya: Represented in Purānic tradition as son of Śiva and Pārvatī, is considered the war god and leader of the army of gods.⁹⁸ The representation of hex-cephalic deity on Yaudheya coins has been identified as Kārttikeya, who is also called Sadānan or Sanmukha.⁹⁹ Adorned with a spear in his right hand has been depicted standing in the

Yaudheya coins. The six heads are depicted in two ways, either as  or as  form of

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Handa, 2007, *Tribal Coins*: 196-200; Handa, Devendra, 2007, 'Light on the Religion of Yaudheyas', *JNSI* Vol. -LXIX: 47-57; Handa, Devendra, 2009, 'Temples as Depicted on Yaudheya Coins', in *Kaladarpana*, ed. by Banerjee, A. and D. Desai, Delhi.

⁹⁷ Shastri, A.M, 1977, 'Symbols on Tribal Coins: An Interpretative Study', *Seminar Papers*: 92-94.

⁹⁸ Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *Ibid.*: 221-223.

⁹⁹ Handa, D., 2007, 'Some Rare Shaḍānan-Shashṭhi/Deer Tyoe Yaudheya Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, Vol.31: 115-131.

arrangement. Kārttikeya has also been represented on other contemporary *janapada* coins¹⁰⁰. His association with warfare is often related to the *āyudha-jīvī* nature of these *janapadas* of the Indo-Gangetic divide.

Female deity: The female figure on the reverse of the Class 3 and Class 6 was identified as Lakṣmī by Allan. However, other scholars prefer to identify her as Śaṣṭhī or Devasena who is considered Kārttikeya's wife.¹⁰¹ Her representation in some specimen as six-headed makes it favourable to consider her as Śaṣṭhī.

Apart from these there are animal figures represented on the Yaudheya coins. Class 2 coins bear elephant/ bull on the coin. The representation of *yūpa* (sacrificial post) in front of the bull is also associated with Śiva. In one of the Class 6 varieties a peacock represented next to Kārttikeya was identified by Allan¹⁰². Class 3 and Class 6 coins are dominated by kine on the reverse. While some associate kine with goddess Lakṣmī¹⁰³, in context of Yaudheya coins Banerjea pointed the closer association of kine with Pārvatī.¹⁰⁴ On the basis of the close connection of animals, icons and deities represented on Yaudheya coins with the Śiva pantheon, as represented in Purāṇās, has made many considers to believe that Yaudheyas were Śaivites.¹⁰⁵ The study of icons and symbols on the coin can be used to understand the social traditions and religious affiliations of the community.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*; Shastri, A.M, 1977, *Ibid*.

¹⁰¹ Agrawala, V.S., 1943, 'Goddess Shashthi on the Yaudheya Coins', *JNSI*, Vol.-V: 29-32; Shashtri, Y. *Ibid*: 132; Handa, D. 2007, *Ibid*.

¹⁰² Allan, *BMC*: 276.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*: 159, 160.

¹⁰⁴ Banerjea, J.N., 1960, 'Interpretation of a few Symbols on Some Tribal Coins of Ancient India', *JNSI*, Vol- XXII: 43-46.

¹⁰⁵ Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Tribal Coins*: 145-46. Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, 1977, *Coins and Icons*: 266; Shastri, Y., *Ibid*: 161-165.

Method of coin manufacture

The knowledge about weight standard of a coinage, the metal used and the method which may have been adopted for the manufacture of a type of coinage is intrinsic to the nature coins. The analysis of these specific characters of a coinage through the intrinsic study of the metal standards and the weight pattern is important.

The earliest coins, in the Indian subcontinent were manufactured by three methods: 1) punch marking; 2) casting through moulds; 3) die striking. The die striking method is considered to have been the latest method to be used. The method of casting appears to be simpler as the metal in molten form is poured in the cavity formed by joining two moulds together, moulds may have been of either clay or harder metal¹⁰⁶. The earliest die-struck coins have been assigned to the 4th century B.C., and have the device on only one side of the coin. The double-die method came in to use comparatively later. The die was impressed on the metal with a hammer when it was hot. The double-die struck coins had the symbols on both the sides; the symbol on the reverse was the result of the die that remained attached to the anvil that was used as base for striking symbols on the metal lump.¹⁰⁷ The difference between PMC and die struck coins is that, while in the former every symbol is punched separately, in the latter type, all the symbols are carved on a single die and are struck at once on the coin.¹⁰⁸

All attributable Yaudheya coins (i.e. Class 2/5, 3 and 6 of Allan, and *Citreśvara* type of Handa) appear to have been produced from dies by anvil and hammer process. However, scholars have also been reporting coin moulds that are ascribed to Yaudheyas. These coin moulds were first studied in detail by B.Sahni who found them in large

¹⁰⁶ Prakash, S. and R. Singh, 1968, *Coinage in Ancient India: A Numismatic, Archaeochemical and Metallurgical study of Ancient Indian Coins*, New Delhi, The Research Institute of Ancient Scientific Studies: 90.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 90, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Srivastava, Prashant, 2008, 'Die Striking Mode of Fabrication of Coins: Its Origin in India', *JNSI*, Vol. LXX: 28-31.

numbers during the exploration of Khokrakot¹⁰⁹ and Sunet¹¹⁰. While the Yaudheya coins were die-struck, we often find cast coins and discoveries of large number of coin moulds have been made from different sites. It is debated as to why the two methods of coin manufacture must have been made simultaneously, and has generated good amount of discussion among scholars (this to be discussed in the following chapter as the issue brings in the issues of economic conditions and monetary system). In this period, however, it is not a very peculiar thing as we also find coin moulds of Kuṣāṇa kings Vāsudeva and Huviṣka¹¹¹, and other *janapada* coins.

About Allan's Class 3 there is absolutely no doubt that these were die struck, and no moulds to cast such coins have yet been reported. It is only Class 6 and 2 for which the moulds have been found. The moulds found from Khokrakot and Naurangabad are attributed to Class 2, and Sunet to Class 6¹¹². The numbers in which these coin moulds have been reported are also great, like thirty thousand coin moulds of Class 6 were discovered from surface from Sunet¹¹³, and thousands of them are reported to have been found from Khokrakot and stored at Rohtak, at MD University, and Jhajjar's Gurukul museum.

To understand the number of coins that may actually have been in circulation within the economy, scholars make attempts to study the die and the moulds both. The peculiar nature of the casting technique is that they can produce only one coin per mould, and thus becomes labour intensive. The dies can certainly produce a very large number of coins, as compared to the casting method. Earliest attempts to study the dies were

¹⁰⁹ Sahni, B, 1936, 'Antiquities from Khokra Kot Mound at Rohtak in Jumna Valley', *Current Sciences*, May: 796-801. Also See Sahni, B, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*.

¹¹⁰ Sahni, B, 1941, 'Yaudheya Coin Moulds from Sunet, Near Ludhiana in Sutlej Valley.' *Current Sciences*, No.2, Feb: 65-68.

¹¹¹ *IAR*, 1983-84: 69. The coin moulds of issues of Kuṣāṇa coins are found in Sunet excavation in the period of their occupation.

¹¹² Shastri, Ajay Mitra, 1997, 'Yaudheya Coins: Contemporary Counterfeits', in *Facets of Indian Civilization: Recent perspectives, Essays in Honour of Prof. B.B. Lal*, Vol III, (ed) by Jagat Pati Joshi: 633.

¹¹³ *IAR*, 1983-84: 69-70.

made by a western scholar D.M. Metcalf¹¹⁴ to determine the size of the Anglo-Saxon currency. However, in case of casting technique it is commonly considered that casting technique is the technique of forger, and the presence of both die striking and casting method is often seen with suspicion by scholars as a method generally used by counterfeiters. In context of our study, it becomes important to study the casting and the die-striking methods, as they will help us to determine whether size of the Yaudheya coins was large enough to play an important role in the monetary system of the subcontinent or only remained an issue of a political group, that had more of a political role to play than economic. This issue will be taken up in the next chapter, along with a continued discussion about the types of moulds and the coin dies, and their importance.

Yaudheyas as Understood in their Geo-political Context

The geographical positioning of a region has always intrigued scholars to understand the historical process it went through. Till the seventh decade of 20th century the scholars continued to adopt the Ganga-valley centric approach, which explained the rise of complex economy and state structures in the latter, while the other regions were seen as peripheries to the centre. The earlier scholars considered the Punjab region as that of frontier area, which was always under external influences as a result of which it could not experience a stable economy and state formation. A reflection of this approach can be seen in the works of Buddha Prakash¹¹⁵. He points out that even though the southern Punjab is isolated by desert and hill (Aravalis) in south, 'some tribes of the

¹¹⁴ Metcalf, D.M, 1965, 'How Large was Anglo-Saxon Currency?', *The Economic History Review*, XV,III.3: 475-82.

¹¹⁵ Prakash, Buddha, 1964, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, Motilal Banarasidas; Prakash, Buddha, 1971, *Evolution of Heroic Tradition in Ancient Punjab*; 1-10.

Punjab like Malavās' moved to south due to pressure from north, by 'northern powers' and other tribes coming from north.¹¹⁶ "This made Punjabis alert and strenuous, hard and heroic, enduring and adjustable".¹¹⁷

Secondly, Position of Punjab on the traditional *Uttarapatha* has also been referred to. Buddha Prakash mentioned that it fell right in the middle of the traditional trade route that connected the eastern urban centres of the Gangetic plains to the steppes of Turkestan. The Punjab plains were like frontiers to the empire the of Gangetic plains. Punjab region had to bear the brunt of all the onslaughts and invasions that were the results of attraction to the wealth and riches of the Gangetic plains.¹¹⁸ What we see represented of this region in the Early-Historical period is through mention of few cities, which have been referred to in the traditional texts, as cities falling within the trade route that connected urban centres, and did not go through a state formation of its own. This type of description may provide a picture that Punjab region, post-Harappan period did not experience urbanisation, rather continued to play a role of disturbed frontier.

Recently with the emergence of regional history scholars advocate the study of Punjab region in terms of local cultural evolution rather than relegating it to one of a region that faced continuous invasions in history. Romila Thapar¹¹⁹ points that often in case of studying the regional history one finds that certain general categorisations are not applicable to regions. She identified three such theories that are commonly accepted in case of Indian history which does not seem to apply in case of Punjab: 1) conventional three tier periodisation; 2) social stratification based on four caste division; 3) search for a 'golden age' within the regions, which is tied up with the attempt to suggest regional periodisation, without changing the assumptions of existing general periodisation.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*: 2.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*: 9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*: 9-10.

¹¹⁹ Thapar, Romila, 1976 (rpt. 1985), 'The Scope and Significance of Regional History', in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretation*, ed. by Romila Thapar, Orient Longman, New Delhi: 317-331.

Regarding the period of our interest, Thapar states that 'for the orthodox of the *madhyadeśa* this region was always on the brink of social pale if not actually outside it'¹²⁰. She suggests that the general social stratification and political structure found in the Ganga valley is not found in this region. For which the role of invasion in the history of Punjab is not to be considered the only reason, rather other factors also had contributing effect in the way this region's history shaped up, for instance trade. This region remained more dependent on trade than on agriculture. This is corroborated by her, with reference to absence of land-grant inscriptions from the Punjab plains in post-Gupta period. If agriculture was of primary importance there may have been records of either bringing waste land under cultivation or of granting of cultivated areas.¹²¹ Here the difference in economic organisations in Punjab and *madhyadeśa* region is seen as the determinant of difference in nature of political formations in the two regions.

B.D. Chattopadhyaya also looked in to the problems of defining regions. The history of Punjab region, as B.D. Chattopadhyaya¹²² states, is generally studied either in terms with of the centres of Harappan civilization, or in terms of the fallout of 'Aryan invasions'. Apart from its positioning in these two grand processes of Indian history, the Ganga valley remains the most important cradle for the efflorescence of historical and cultural processes. Chattopadhyaya¹²³ suggests that the methodological departure from this type of representation would be to trace the different stages of formation of human settlements, instead of just picking out selective periods and studying them. By looking at the distribution of sites from the Post-Harappan period onwards, up-to the Early Historic phase (of the Ganga valley, i.e, mid of 1st millennium B.C.) he tries to find alignments between the Punjab region and the Ganga valley. He points out that

¹²⁰ *Ibid*: 322.

¹²¹ *Ibid*:323,324.

¹²² Chattopadhyaya, B.D., 1995 (rpt.2003), *Geographical Perspectives, Cultural Change and Linkages: Some Reflections on Early Punjab*, *Studies in Early India*.: 50-51.

¹²³ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *Ibid*:53,54.

technically and chronologically, the settlements that succeed and perhaps also overlap with the final phase of Harappan culture in Punjab region are represented in the PGW and Grey ware sites. He points that as compared to the number of Late Harappan sites, in the modern state of Punjab, which is 104, there was marked rise in the settlement sites in the PGW and Grey Ware phase. The number of PGW sites rose to 218, spread over 12 districts, with heaviest concentration in Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Patiala and Ropar district. This sharp increase in the number of settlement sites, in Chattopadhyaya's opinion, shows alignment with the growth in PGW sites in Indo-Gangetic valley. In the Early Historic phase in Punjab, the number of settlement sites, in 10 districts increased to 249. By looking at the number of growing settlement sites over the phase, Chattopadhyaya opines that this development suggests formation of early Punjab as a cultural region. Second point he emphasises is that from the period the Punjab region shows PGW phase, followed by NBPW, the plains of Punjab show increasing tendency of integration with the Ganga valley.¹²⁴

Archaeologically the regions of the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Ganga valley, according to Chattopadhyaya,¹²⁵ appear to have had corresponding phases, in the time period between close of the 2nd millennium B.C to the middle of the first millennium B.C. He opines that the references in literature can be used to point out that the societies in upper Punjab plains and Indo-Gangetic divide were shaping up differently from that in the Ganga valley towards the beginning of early historical period. While the major concentration of *janapada* is seen in the Ganga valley, in northwest part of the subcontinent, Gandhāra was the only *janapada*. By 6th century B.C., the emerging cultural differences between the Ganga valley and the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Punjab plains become apparent. While in Ganga valley the *janapadas* merged to form

¹²⁴ *Ibid*: 54. Also see, Chakrabarti, Dilip, *India: An Archaeological History*: 280-284.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*: 55.

mahājanapadas which developed into monarchy, in the Indo-Gangetic region the *gaṇa-saṃgha* (oligarchic or republican) structures emerged. The Indo-Gangetic divide though, had interaction with the Ganga valley/ *madhyadeśa* it remained beyond the direct Brāhmanical orthodoxy, and became marginal to Brāhmanical literature. The denunciation of Brāhmanical orthodoxy in Punjab and nearby regions according to him was the result of dominance of the *gaṇa-saṃgha* form of social organisation, which continued with the tradition of *rājanyas* or *āyudhajīvi kṣatriyas* and not by Brāhmanical idea of monarchy.¹²⁶ He further states that one of the reasons why there are no land grant inscriptions is that strong *gaṇa-saṃgha* tradition did not provide much space for the Brahmanical mode of monarchical legitimation. He suggests that regional history and general processes in history were not mutually exclusive, but there is need to understand the regional history in terms of diversities as well as dynamism of linkages rather than taking the 'centre and periphery' approach¹²⁷.

Chattopadhyaya also suggests that to consider that the *janapadas* or *āyudhajīvi saṃghas* stagnated and did not go under any perceptible change would not be correct. He explains it by bringing two issues. First, he shows the tendency of growing hierarchical patterns among the settlement in Punjab region. He suggests that while Early historical settlements in Punjab may be put around 250, the urban centres of this region so far mentioned would be only about a dozen. This according to him shows the process of convergence of resources at a limited number of centres and emergence of nodes. Second, he points out that the *saṃghas* were traditionally associated with warfare as their major means of subsistence, but later became a part of vast network of commerce which

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*: 56, 57.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*: 61.

characterised the economy of north India in general in the Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa time.¹²⁸

It can be further suggested that with changing economic relations the political organisation also went through changes in the *gaṇa-samghas*. If we take the example of the changing nature of coins issued by Yaudheyas, as has been discussed above, they formed confederacy by incorporating different *janapadas*. These *gaṇa-samghas*, Chattopadhyaya suggests were no longer political organisation to be found in Ganga basin, but were very peculiar to the Punjab plains, some pockets of Rajasthan and in the Himalayas extending till Garhwal. He further suggests that though the Indo-Gangetic divide was part of the network of linkages which was quite extensive, i.e. from Gāndharan northwest to the Ganga basin in the east, it still was a zone that remained distinct from both.¹²⁹

Often the concept of a well organised economy and urbanisation gets tailed to the concept of unitary state. The process of monetisation also gets associated with the concept of presence of a well organised monarchical political structure. Though, recently scholars in their study of the Early Historic cities are looking at the complexities and validity of this concept, and if this can be universally applied to all regions. G. Erdosy¹³⁰ also looks at the growth of the different political processes in the Early Historic South Asia. He suggests that scholars are more familiar with monarchy as it dominates the attention of all accounts. He enumerates the characteristics of a monarchy as described in traditional texts, i.e. hereditary rule, developed legal code, ruler commanding over hierarchically structured bureaucracy etc.¹³¹ The alternate form of political organisation,

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: 59-61.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Erdosy, George, 1995, 'City States of North India and Pakistan at the Time of Buddha', in *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, ed. F.R. Allchin, CUP, Cambridge: 116-119.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*: 117

designated *gana*, in the literature is principally documented in Buddhist sources and not much in Brāhmanical texts. The reason for this being that the pattern of decision making duplicated the procedure of monastic orders: instead of hereditary ruler, leaders were elected to a limited term by the head of families of ruling lineage. He suggests that both the northeastern and western regions of South Asia, where the *ganas* were concentrated, were regarded with disapproval by seers of *madhyadeśa*, who may have deliberately omitted surviving tribal institutions from their traditions. He suggests that oligarchies may be viewed as either antecedents or alternative to monarchies, even when these survived along side monarchies for over a millennium. The differences between the two forms, however, were limited to the political sphere. The oligarchies had a full complement of social classes, issued their own coins and supported significant urban centres.¹³²

B.P. Sahu¹³³ also agrees with the presence of a socio-cultural tradition in Punjab region, that was different from the Brāhmanical monarchical organisation in Ganga valley. He suggests that “Brāhmanical ideology acquired a sub-continental identity largely through its socio-political functions such as the production of texts like the *Purānas*, creation of local mythologies, spread of Vedic-Śāstric-Purānic ideas, invention of origin myths for ruling families, among others, and the use of Sanskrit as a common language”.¹³⁴ The dominance of *gana-samgha* organisation in Indo-Gangetic divide, however, did not leave much scope for the Brāhmanical political institutions to flourish. This different social-cultural organisation continued to flourish even under the Kuṣāna rule, which according to Sahu, covered large parts of Central Asia as well, and comprised of numerous socio-cultural entities. In Indo-Gangetic divide region we see

¹³² *Ibid*: 117-119.

¹³³ Sahu, Bhairabi Prasad, 2001, ‘Brahmanical Ideology, Regional Identities and the Construction of Early India’, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 29, No. 7/8 (Jul. - Aug.), pp. 3-18

¹³⁴ *Ibid*: 10.

that the rulers chose to bear numerous epithets and the accommodation of a variety of deities from different cults on the reverse of their coins, from Śiva, Buddha, to fire cult and the moon, which should be rather seen as perhaps a recognition of the existing socio-cultural pluralism within their domain.¹³⁵ The *gaṇa-samgha* tradition continued to persistently exist in the Punjab plains from the Mauryan times through the Kusāna period and beyond, with weak property rights in land.

Archaeological assemblage of the sites, those have yielded coins during excavation and by surface finds, have already been discussed in the previous chapter. However, the number of excavated sites in the Punjab-Haryana region, still remains very few. Also presently this region seems to be discussed as an area under the Kuṣāṇa influence by the scholars, as the archaeological assemblage, found in the Early Historical period is associated with Kuṣāṇa pottery and culture. When we look at the excavation reports we often also find, the presence of influences of coin issuing *gaṇa-samghas*. This makes the strict linear categorisation of the cultural phases, in to 1) PGW phase, 2) NBPW or Maurya, 3) Śunga- Kuṣāṇa and 4) Gupta period, questionable. As then the *gaṇa-samgha/ janapada* phases become invisible and remain unattended by scholars. The historical process of state formation that was experienced in the Ganga valley, which marked the transition from a tribal republic *janapada* to monarchical state, which was followed by emergence of empires, came to be considered as the standard pattern of evolutionary political changes.

¹³⁵ *Ibid:* 10-11.

Conclusion

As seen above the various sources, seem to have used different terms to refer to the Yaudheyas. The most common of these are *saṃgha*, *gaṇa*, and *janapada*. In Pāṇini's work the Yaudheyas are referred to as *āyudhajīvi saṃgha* of Vāhīka region, within which other smaller groups also existed. Yaudheyas may have been a dominant *gaṇa* among other smaller *gaṇas* like Śaubhreya, Śaukreya, Jyāvāneya, Vārteya and Dhārteya, as they are mentioned within the Yaudheya *saṃgha* by both Śākaṭāyana and Pāṇini.¹³⁶

Different scholars have explained the meaning of *gaṇa* differently. Smith¹³⁷ had explained the term *gaṇa* as tribal. Similarly other western scholars like J.F. Fleet¹³⁸ and M. Williams¹³⁹ also uses the word tribal to explain the term *gaṇa*. This explanation was refuted by other scholars.

Using the references made in the *Mahābhārata*, K.P. Jayaswal¹⁴⁰ points that both the terms *gaṇa* and *saṃgha* refer to a republican state in general. He also mentions that in the *Mahābhārata*, the Yaudheyas are represented as not at all conservative or narrow in their general setup of administration, it may have been a setup of tribe based on legal and communal understanding with purely non-tribal conditions. He also uses Pāṇini's mention that the martial states had men of all castes and not one *gotra* or one tribal origin. By looking at these descriptions Jayaswal prefers to consider Yaudheyas as a confederation of republican nature.

¹³⁶ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 33

¹³⁷ Smith, Vincent A., 1906 (Rpt. 1972), *Coins of Ancient India: Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I.*

¹³⁸ Fleet, CII, Vol III: 8

¹³⁹ William, M. *Sanskrit English Dictionary.*

¹⁴⁰ Jayaswal, K.P., *ibid.*: 115

S.K. Chakraborty¹⁴¹ also accepts *gana* as having republican characteristic and considered *gaṇarājya* meaning rule of a number or rule of many. *Samgha* also is considered as republican state, and a confederacy of many republics.

M.K. Sharan¹⁴² also accepts that *saṃgha* denotes a confederate republican state that may have comprised of individual republics i.e *gana*. He also explains this on the basis of *Kātyāyana's* reference (in *Vārtika*) to *Samghaas* a form of government distinct from *Ekrāja*, which has monarchical nature. Also the use of the terms *gana* and *saṃgha* in political sense should be considered to mean 'autonomous kingless classes or corporation', different from 'kingship'. Sharan mentions that Yaudheyas, along with other tribal states of Punjab and Mālava, enjoyed autonomy under the protection of the paramount powers of Guptas. He mentions that from Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, it is known that the Yaudheya's representative came to offer submission to the Gupta emperor, the representative was not a king. Therefore, it is considered obvious by Sharan, that there was no monarchical form of government prevalent in this tribe, although it is sure that sovereignty was neither vested in the whole population, but there was a representative.

On the basis of the distribution pattern of the Class 2, 3 and 6 coins of Yaudheya, and also the interpretations of the legends on these coins, it appears that most of scholars¹⁴³, suggests that movement of Yaudheyas or their alliances was the reason for issuance of new types of coins. Thus, the political reason is considered the as important, than more, as of economic need for issuance of separate coinage. However, it is again important to remember that the nature of Yaudheyian polity is ambiguous and there is no

¹⁴¹ Chakraborty, S.K., 1931, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*: 138.

¹⁴² Sharan, M.K., 1972, *ibid*: 81. Also see Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid*: 92.

¹⁴³ Jayaswal, K.P., 1943, *Hindu Polity*; Altekar, A.S., 1955, *State and Government in Ancient India*:119; Ghoshal, U.N, 1957, *Ibid*:342-346; Sastri, K.A.N, 1957, *CHI*. Dasgupta, K.K, 1974, *Ibid*.; Handa, Devendra, 1979; Handa, Devendra, 1983, Shastri, Yogananda. 1999, *Ibid*. 72-74, 84-90.

unanimity about the political nature of Yaudheyas. It is also not clear if they were together as a result of common ancestry or their organisation was based on economic and political needs (especially when they are called a *samgha*).

We see that in the earliest references to Yaudheyas, i.e. in grammatical works, there is no mention about their genealogy. It is only later, that in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* we find authors interested in tracing their ancestry. It is not impossible that the Yaudheyas were not organised on the basis of common ancestry, rather they may have been a group of various clans that came together. The use of terms *gaṇas* or *samghas* and not a dynasty supports this argument. There may have been various reasons for such a conglomeration, and alliance, which may be for economic conveniences and/or better security from invasions etc. This confederate nature of Yaudheyas continued to exist over long period of time, with their expansion through alliance and incorporation of other smaller political organisations and clans. The inclusion of Agāca and later Kuṇinda in the confederacy may have been of similar nature. With every prominent alliance, the Yaudheyas must have considered adopting a new type of coinage. Thus, to consider the Yaudheyas as 'tribe' does not seem appropriate, as even in the *Mahābhārata* it is mentioned that Yaudheyas had a setup of tribe based on legal and communal understanding with purely non-tribal conditions (uncommon ancestry). On basis of this we may consider that Yaudheyas may have been a conglomeration of the different clans and tribal groups, but not a tribe itself.

Another aspect that may be taken into consideration is that the Class 3 coins, are found only in the Garhwal and near by regions. Class 3 coins are not found in the Punjab and Haryana plains, which are generally considered the main area of Yaudheyas occupation (see maps 2 and 4). The issuance of Class 3 coin, in the name of the deity, instead of the Yaudheyas *gaṇa*, may have been the result considering the local needs of

the time. Kuṇindas had been the closest coin issuing group in this region, who used the image of female deity (generally considered Lakṣmī¹⁴⁴ or Pārvati¹⁴⁵) in their earlier coins. Yaudheyas adopted the symbols of kine and goddess to facilitate the easy acceptance of their coins, with in the existing monetary system of the region. Class 3 coins also do not have the legend *Yaudheya*, unlike Class 2 and Class 6 coins. Instead the inscription on coins dedicated the coin to the deity Kārttikeya. It is also notable that, when Class 6 coins were issued, they commonly circulated in the Punjab and Haryana plains (where Class 2 coins had circulated). Class 6 coins have both the characteristic of the Class 2 coins (as they bear the name Yaudheya), and Class 3 coins (the images of deities are continued to have been used). It may be assumed that after the incorporation of Kuṇindas within the Yaudheyian *gaṇa* or confederacy, Yaudheyas could conveniently merge the Class 2 and Class 3 styles and get accepted in the monetary system, due to long term familiarity, of these symbols and features of the coin types, with the users. This leaves out the scope of physical migrations of the Yaudheyas; instead this distribution pattern can be used to explain step wise introduction and acceptance of the Yaudheyian coin within the monetary system. Even if there may have been some movement to the upper doabs and in to the hills, as Romila Thapar questions, could it have been ‘...natural migration caused by shortage of land and an increasing population?’¹⁴⁶ In that case the migration may not have been specific to movement of the Yaudheyas.

On the basis of the literary references and the intrinsic information that can be gathered from the coins of Yaudheyas, the picture that one gets is that the Yaudheyas did not appear to have existed in a vacuum or without any interaction and relation with their

¹⁴⁴ See Allan, *BMC*: 156.

¹⁴⁵ Banerjea, J.N., 1960, ‘Interpretation of a few Symbols on Some Tribal Coins of Ancient India’, *JNSI*, XXII: 43-46.

¹⁴⁶ Thapar, Romila, 1976 (rpt. 1985), ‘The Scope and Significance of Regional History’, in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretation*, ed. by Romila Thapar, Orient Longman, New Delhi: 325

neighbours. May it have been the *janapadas*, Indo-Greeks, or Kuṣāṇas, the coins, as suggested by scholars, show at least some, if not much, marks of their interaction with the Yaudheyas.

The ends which are left open in this chapter, and would be taken up in the coming chapters are the issues of understanding the economic and monetary process of the Punjab region in context of the Northern Indian system. We find that the archaeological remains as well as the settlement study in geo-political context leaves no doubt that there existed certain linkages between the Punjab plains and the Indo Gangetic doab. While such a co-relation is visible and has been established, what is to be understood is the role of Yaudheyas within this larger section. Whether their coin fit in the existing monetary system by adhering to the weight pattern tradition of the monetary system, and did the successive coinage owe to Yaudheyas coinage tradition.

Chapter III

Yaudheya Coins: A Monetary System or Stray?

A Case Study of a Coin Collection at IIRNS¹

Metal when used to facilitate exchange of goods, is a currency; currency, when used according to specific weight standards, is money; money stamped with a device is a coin. Metal intrinsically valuable, weight deliberately adjusted, the mark of device of a responsible authority - all the three are needed to make a coin.²

When one discusses about money, coins and economy, it is important to first look at the meaning of these terms and that these terms may differ in different temporal and regional contexts. While currency is a monetary system, money is anything that can be/is accepted as a medium of exchange. A monetary system may have various forms of money, for both commercial and non-commercial transactions, as the possible exchangeability of any object makes it money. Money, therefore, is intangible and imaginary; unlike coins, which have a fixed role of exchangeability and are tangible. Any object's acceptability as money is dependent on various aspects, like time and place, acceptability, need, demand, authority, scarcity etc.³

¹ Indian Institute for Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik.

² Seltman, C., 1955, Greek Coins, London: I

³ These varied aspects of the dynamic nature of money has been discussed in the annual Presidential Addresses at by Joe Cribb at Royal Numismatic society of Britain, titled 'Money as Metaphor' in consecutive years 2005 to 2008, published in *NC*.

Coins are one such form of money, which is used to facilitate transaction. In other words, what makes coinage different from any other object that is exchangeable is: the value that is ascribed to it is standard, has uniform adherence to the weight system assigned by a third party and the value of coin is greater than that of the metal used. G. Dalton⁴ opines that coins are more of commercial money in nature, its existence has prerequisites like market-based economies, where land and labour are exchangeable by sale and purchase and not just by kinship rights or tribal affiliation. Coins are impersonal and not directly related to the user's personal produce.⁵

The characteristic feature of the Indo-Gangetic and Punjab plains in the post-Mauryan period is the presence of large number of coins reflecting extensive phase of monetisation in this period. The large number of coins which are found from this region are not limited to one type: they are of different types in the sense of different weight standards (traditional *kārsāpaṇa* standard of *janapada* coins and *drachma* standard of silver coins of Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian rulers and Kuṣāṇas), type of metal used, method of manufacture etc. These coins have received the interest of the scholars, though the studies are often unrelated to each other. The relationship between different types of coins and the different weight systems appear to be unaddressed. It becomes important, therefore, to study the Yaudheya coins vis-a-vis their contemporaries and to find out how the Yaudheya coins could be placed in the larger system. This can be examined by looking at two aspects of the Yaudheya coins:

- i) The technological aspects:
 - a) Method of coin manufacture,
 - b) Metals used for manufacture,
 - c) Weight standards adopted.

⁴ Dalton, George, 1965, 'Primitive Money', *American Anthropologist*, 67: 50, 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*

- ii) The theoretical aspect:
 - a) Relationship between trade, urbanisation and monetisation,
 - b) Role of state, if any.

The chapter will also try to examine whether the methods of studying the coins and its attributes taken up by scholars can be uniformly applied to the Yaudheya coins, or is there a need to look for alternate methods that would cater to the distinctiveness of the Yaudheya coins.

The Technological Aspects

Method of Coin Manufacture

As coins are the source of our study, it is important to look at the manufacturing techniques of the coin. The manufacturing technique of coins have been studied by scholars to understand the economy and other related aspects, like concepts of volume of the coinage as well as power relations within and without a society. Upendra Thakur suggests that the coin-moulds and coin-dies, apart from throwing light upon the technique employed, reveal the birth-place of the coin, for they never pass into circulation. While the coin is peripatetic, the moulds and dies are static, thus they help in the locating the possible mint sites.⁶ In case of the Yaudheya coins, we find that both the methods of coin manufacturing may have been adopted.

⁶ Thakur, Upendra, 1973, 'Early Indian Mints', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Dec.): 272.

The Die Striking Method:

It is commonly agreed that all attributable Yaudheya coin types are die-struck⁷, as the specimens found reveal a shallow incuse impression on the coin that is characteristic of the die-struck coins⁸. These coins were manufactured by double die, involving the simultaneous use of both anvil-die and the punch-die. While the surface of the die-punch was slightly convex, that of the anvil die had a corresponding concavity, with the result of scyphate appearance of the coin⁹ *. Most of the neighbours contemporaneous to Yaudheyas, like Kuṇindas, Auḍumbaras, Ārjunāyanas and the Kuṣāṇas also struck their coins using double-die method.

The die-striking method of coin has been of great interest to the scholars. There are two types of studies that are generally carried out by scholars: a) die-link studies and; b) identifying the number of dies that may have been used to strike a series of coins. Both these methods have their own purpose and focus of study, though, these are very much interconnected.

The die-link study is based on the tendency, which in Otto Morkholm¹⁰ words is that the obverse and reverse dies deteriorate at different rates and they break and are replaced at different times. Thus, it becomes possible to establish sequence of die-links for specimens which share common die; and the order of the dies within the sequence may be determined by careful study of progressive wear of a given die as it is exhibited through successive striking. The die-link method, thus, allows scholar to assign relative

⁷ Shastri, Ajay Mitra, 1997, 'Yaudheya Coins: Contemporary Counterfeits', in *Facets of Indian Civilization: Recent perspectives, Essays in Honour of Prof. B.B. Lal*, Vol III, (ed) by Jagat Pati Joshi: 631.

⁸ Shastri, Ajay Mitra, *Ibid.*; Lahiri, A.N, 1977, 'The Minting Techniques of the Tribal Coins', in *Seminar Paper*: 71, 79.

⁹ Lahiri, A.N, 1977, *Ibid.*: 79.

* I observed this while looking at the collection of Yaudheya coins at IIRNS, Nasik. It also can be seen in photographs of the coin in, Handa, Devendra, 2007, *Ibid.*: Pls. XXXV- LXIII; Allan, John, 1936, *BMC*: Pl. XXXIX, XL; Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Ibid.*: Pl. 20-22.

¹⁰ Morkholm, Otto, 1983, 'The Life of Obverse Dies in Hellenistic Period', in *Studies in Numismatic Method: Presented to Philip Grierson*, ed. by C.N.L Brookem, B.H.I.H. Stewart *et al.* CUP, Cambridge: 11-16.

chronology to the issues. While taking up this method of study, it is taken for granted by scholars that if two coins appear to have been struck by the same die, most probably they were struck at the 'same time and in the same place'.¹¹ Western scholars also use this method to understand how the mints operated.

Western Scholars are adopting the study of dies to understand the volume of the coins that may have circulated at a time. To get the estimates of size of issues of coinage, the original number of dies used for an issue must be calculated and multiplied by the average number of coins produced from each die. From the number of specimens of a particular issue that have been found, in relation to number of obverse dies used for it by statistical method allows one to predict the total number of fully used obverse dies in the issue, including those not been discovered yet. C. Howgego warns that where the existing sample of coinage is poor relative to original production, there is a possibility of wider margins for error.¹² This is quite common in cases where the coinage is very large and may have continued for more than few centuries in the past. To check on the error, it is suggested that the number of dies that were estimated should be compared with the relative frequency of issues in hoards. Under ideal circumstances a large hoard will reflect coinage output reasonably well, provided that allowance is made for the progressive loss of earlier coins from circulation.

There are various statistical methods suggested by different scholars.¹³ However, different methods have their own relevance and depend on the scholar as to what s/he prefers to use.

¹¹ *Ibid.*:11

¹² Howgego, Christopher, 1995, *Ancient History from Coins*, Routledge, London: 29,30.

¹³ Metcalf, D.M, 1965, 'How Large was Anglo-Saxon Currency?' *The Economic History Review*, XV, III.3: 475-82. Lyon, C.S.S., 1965, 'The Estimation of the Number of Dies Employed in a Coinage', *Numismatic Circular*, 73, 180-81. McGovern, W.E, 1980, 'Missing Die Probabilities, Expected Die Production and the Index Figure', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 25: 209-23. Esty, W.W. 1986, 'Estimation of the Size of a Coinage: A Survey and Comparison of Methods', *NC*, 146: 185-215.

What is noticeable is that the die studies have been generally carried out by Western scholars for imperial coins where the state mint for those coins is known, like the Roman coins from Attic mint¹⁴, and Seleukid coins¹⁵ etc, than on the regional coins. Die studies in Indian context have been very limited. R.S. Sharma¹⁶ tried to find the approximate number of PMCs struck on the basis of varieties. Assuming that steel being the hardest metal available, steel must have been used for manufacturing the dies. He suggested that a steel die can punch 5000 pieces of PMC. R.S. Sharma had also suggested that it is possible to determine the number of dies in actual use if the maximum number of varieties of a coinage could be ascertained. Another similar attempt was made by K.M. Shrimali¹⁷, who applied the method to study the Pāñcāla coins. Assuming that the die can punch 3000 copper coins, he arrived at a figure of 10,00,000 as an approximate number of Pāñcāla coins.

A.M Shastri¹⁸ cautions that in case of Indian coins, there are no actual specimens of the dies, and as one does not have the knowledge of the metallic composition of the dies as well as of the striking technique, the results may not be appropriate. He further suggests that there may also be possibilities of premature discarding of certain dies. Further, the conditions may also have been different from one mint to other as the properly heated coin blanks increased the life of a die.

Western scholars also point out that almost all early copper coins appear comparatively cruder than the silver and gold issues, as scholars are of the opinion that the copper coins are of low denomination and are comparatively more frequent in circulation within a limited geographical extent. The coarse nature of copper coins may imply its

¹⁴ Figueira, Thomas, 1998, *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania: 185-201.

¹⁵ Aperghis, Gerassimos George, 2004, *Ibid*: 16-18.

¹⁶ Sharma, R.S., 1969, 'Coins and Problems of Early Indian Economic History' *JNSI*, Vol. XXXI: 6, 7.

¹⁷ Shrimali, K.M, 1985, *History of Pāñchāla*, Vol I: 86-87; Vol. II: 15-18.

¹⁸ Shastri, A.M., ed. 1976, *Coins and Early Indian Economy*.

fundamental role, i.e. for circulation, in the economy. It also, depends on the acceptance of the coins by the users. Also, in almost all early economies, as G.G. Aperghis¹⁹ suggests, there is much less concern about the appearance of bronze and copper issues, in comparison to silver and gold issues.

Manmohan Kumar's study²⁰ also echoes this problem when he mentions that in India not even a single die has been found either from excavation or explorations. Keeping these possibilities and problems in mind, Manmohan Kumar made an attempt to study the hoard of 43 Yaudheya copper coins discovered in 1984 at village Bishan (in Rohtak district). The hoard consisted of all three varieties (*a*, *b* and *c*) of Class 6 coins (of Allan's categorisation) which bear the legend of *Yaudheya ganasya jaya*. 22 of these coins have been reported as variety *a*; 17 coins are of variety *b* (which has the additional inscription of *dvi*) and; 4 of variety *c* (bearing the additional inscription *tri*).²¹

By looking at the legend and motifs on these coins, Manmohan Kumar has tried to identify the types and varieties of dies.²² He states that the number and variety of dies used for the variety 6 *a* in this collection, are 13 in number are of 4 sizes. For coins of variety 6 *b*, 10 different types of dies have been identified that are of 5 different sizes. In case of 4 coins of variety 6 *c*, only one type of die can be identified, but its size has not been identified. It is because in all variety 6 *c* coins of this hoard, the obverse devices run out of flan. The details of Manmohan Kumar's die study result have been represented in Table 8.

¹⁹ Aperghis, Gerassimos George, 2004, *The Seleukid Royal Economy: The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire*, CUP: 17.

²⁰ Kumar, Manmohan, 1991, 'Yaudheya Coin Hoard from Bishan (Rohtak)', *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 1: 81.

²¹ *Ibid*: 79-80.

²² *Ibid*: 81-82.

Table 8: Number of die varieties used for Yaudheya coins found in Bishan hoard ²³ .				
Coin Variety	Number of coins in the hoard	Size of diameter of dies in cm.	Number of a type of die	Total number of die types
6 a	22	2	3	13
		2.10	5	
		2.20	4	
		2.25	1	
6 b	17	2.1	2	10
		2.2	2	
		2.25	3	
		2.3	2	
		2.4	1	
6 c	4	Only one type of die could be identified, size is not identifiable because the obverse devices run out of flan.		1
Total	43	-		24

Manmohan Kumar opines that, on the basis of a study of this hoard one finds the evidence of minimum of 24 different types of die. If one assumes that a single die struck 3000 coins, on the basis of Shrimali's study, then it can be inferred that there must have been minimum of 72,000 coins of Class 6 Yaudheya coins.

Manmohan Kumar is of view that Yaudheyas may have adopted the technique in the initial stages in order to fulfil the requirements of trade²⁴. He continues that they also minted Kuṣāṇa coins (he probably refers to over-striking at Kuṣāṇa coins, over-striking

²³ Kumar, Manmohan, 1991, 'Yaudheya Coin Hoard from Bishan (Rohtak), *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 1: 81-82.

²⁴ Kumar, Manmohan, 1991, 'Yaudheya Coin Hoard from Bishan (Rohtak), *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 1: 80.

of Kuṣāṇa coins by Yaudheyas is also suggested by Mukherjee²⁵) as with such a primitive technique they could not fulfil the total requirements of trade. Manmohan Kumar states that the die-struck coins were prepared in such haste that very little care was taken to have proper alignment of obverse and reverse dies and sometimes we find that these dies go out of flan through the blank is bigger than the die. In one of the coins he points at the impression of double striking, this he explains by saying that the obverse die may not have struck properly at once and thus the striker had to apply the punch again.²⁶

By taking the die studies in context of Yaudheya coins, we find there are three basic problems: Firstly, no real dies have been found, that leaves out of the study of the nature of metal of the die, the figures that would come out would be totally based on assumption. Howgego²⁷ and G.G. Aperghis²⁸ are of the view that the average number of coins produced per die depends upon the material and denomination of the coins, the quality of the dies and the skill of the mint workers. Aperghis gives example of the case of the surviving Seleucid gold coins, which are of excellent quality, may have been minted partly for prestige reasons and thus may have required replacement sooner. For bronze and copper issues, on the other hand, generally there is very much less concern about the appearance, and it is possible that a die for the copper coins may have been used for much higher levels of production.²⁹ It is therefore important to understand that there may be disparity in the number of the coins that a die could strike in different time period and at different mints. The absence of any die specimens in case of Indian context makes it even more difficult to make such assumptions.

²⁵ Mukherjee, B.N., 2004, *Kushana Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Indian Museum: 13.

²⁶ Kumar, Manmohan, 1991, *Ibid*: 80-81, 86.

²⁷ Howgego, Christopher, 1995, *Ancient History from Coins*, Routledge, London: 32.

²⁸ Aperghis, Gerassimos George, 2004, *Ibid*: 17.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

Second, the Yaudheya coins are generally not found in hoards. Also the representation of Yaudheya coins in museums and institutes are not large enough; most of them are in private collections of the collectors who just have few specimens of coins that do not provide a large enough sample size. Third, large numbers of coin moulds of Class 2 and Class 6 coins have been reported by scholars. The possibility of presence of cast coins in circulation thus complicates it, as when the volume of coinage is calculated on the basis of die studies, the entire volume of cast coins, which may have been in circulation, remains neglected.

These aspects make the results of die-studies questionable. It becomes imperative that the casting technique should also be taken into consideration while studying the Yaudheya coins. The presence of two systems of coin manufacture has roused scholarly debates that shall be taken into consideration after the discussion on the casting technique.

Casting Method:

The casting method is considered older than the die-striking method. Though, the exact date is not clear, C.J. Brown³⁰ and M.K. Sharan³¹ consider that casting method was first adopted in 5th century B.C., while according to Upendra Thakur,³² came in to existence in 3rd century B.C. Generally the coin moulds were made by impressing an existing coin on clay and the moulds were used to cast other coins. The moulds were also made when a wax model of the coin was cased in clay, the wax melted and ran out and the space left in the clay mould could be filled with molten metal. In different cultures, a wooden specimen could also be used to get the shape and symbols impressed on the

³⁰ Brown, C.J., 1922, *The Coins of India*, Calcutta: 18.

³¹ Sharan, M.K., 1972, *Tribal Coins: A Study*: 130.

³² Thakur, Upendra, 1973, 'Early Indian Mints', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Dec.): 270.

clay³³. Unlike hand made dies, where there are few chances of exact uniformity with the previous die type, the cast method ensures almost exact reproduction of symbols on the coins. However, the casting method results in a gradual reduction of size over a prolonged period, since each time a further cast specimen is used to make a mould. Also it results in the blurring of type over a period of time.

The moulds are considered to have historical value of their own. The localities from which the coin-moulds have been found may be regarded as old mint-sites. Yaudheya coin moulds have been found in abundance at three centres: Khokrakot (Rohtak), Sunet³⁴ and Naurangabad³⁵. These moulds were considered as sealings by previous scholars who discovered them; it was Sahni who first declared that these were coin moulds. The moulds found from Khokrakot and Naurangabad are attributed to Class 2, and Sunet to Class 6. Sahni discussed the nature of these moulds and their manufacturing technique. While the moulds of Khokhrakot and Naurangabad are similar³⁶, those found at Sunet are different.

Khokrakot and Naurangabad moulds: The moulds from Khokrakot and Naurangabad are made of clay, though there has not been any study made if the clay is local or not. The moulds discovered by Sahni at Khokrakot in 1936 belong to c. 100 B.C. and bear on the obverse the legend *Yaudheyānām Bahudhānyake* (Allan's Class 2) in Brāhmī. This made Sahni confirm Rohtak as their capital mint-town³⁷. These moulds are all of one

³³Liang, Llyod R., 1969, *Coins and Archaeology*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London: 13.

³⁴The moulds at Khokrakot and Sunet were first found and studied by Birbal Sahni. See, Sahni, B, 1936, 'Antiquities from Khokra Kot Mound at Rohtak in Jumna Valley', *Current Sciences*, May: 796-801.. Sahni, B, 1941, 'Yaudheya Coin Moulds from Sunet, Near Ludhiana in Sutlej Valley.' *Current Sciences*, No.2, Feb: 65-68. Also See Sahni, B, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*.

³⁵These moulds had been commonly found by the people living in nearby areas, specially at the time of monsoon, when the water cut through the mounds and number of such clay moulds were revealed. The moulds from Naurangabad was first studied by Omanand Saraswati. See Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Ibid.*: 171

³⁶Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid.*

³⁷Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*: 8-

general type that could be used to cast eight coins at a time (see figures 1 and 2.) But their remarkable feature is the many variations they show in designs and script. The variations in the moulds suggest that a number of different models of coins must have been used in preparing the negatives.³⁸ Sahni suggested that while pressing the moulds in soft clay no care was taken to place them in any particular orientation, the only concern may have been that the same design did not appear on both faces of the coin. The number of models was too large and with permutations and combinations many of the thousand coins could be minted with variation.³⁹

In Khokrakot, most elaborate process of coin casting has been revealed by the fragments of moulds (See figures 1 and 2). Sahni explains that the moulds were made up of series of discs placed in a vertical column, like a pile. "The whole pile was plastered over with clay, only a funnel-like crater being left at the top for receiving the molten metal. The crater led vertically down into a central canal, like the shaft of a mine. From this canal again, as in a mine, horizontal channels led out at different levels as these opened into the coin-sockets. At each level, eight such channels radiated from the central shaft and opened into as many coin-sockets arranged in ring." (See figure 3). The coupled faces of contiguous discs bore the negative impressions of the obverse and reverse respectively, and were so placed as to make the opposing sockets coincide exactly. After the metal had been poured in and the mould was cool enough, it was broken up and the coins, attached in whorls at the ends of the spokes, were broken off, the remaining metal being again put in to the melting pot.

Sahni thinks that first a clay disc was prepared around a peg on the middle of a base-plate enclosed by a hollow cylinder. Then an eight rayed metal with a hollow centre was slipped down the peg and pressed on the clay. At the end of each of the radiating

³⁸ Prakash, Satya and Rajender Singh, 1968, *Coinage in Ancient India: A Numismatic, Archaeological and Metallurgical Study of Ancient Indian Coins*, New Delhi: 205.

³⁹ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*: 8-9.

channel, "a coin model" was pressed to create a coin-socket, bearing the negative impression of the obverse or reverse concerned.⁴⁰

Khokrakot and Naurangabad moulds are quite similar in the way they were manufactured and the technique they followed. However, there are certain differences and specialties between the two types⁴¹ as has been pointed by Yogananda Shastri. While the Naurangabad moulds were designed to produce fifteen coins from one disc, the Khokrakot moulds had sockets for the casting of eight coins. Another difference that he points is that, in the mould discs of Naurangabad, all fifteen sockets did not have direct connection with the central channel. We see that there are five main coin-sockets that received the molten metal from the central channel, and each of these five coin-sockets had fed two more coin-sockets through sub-channels.⁴² (See figures 4, 5 and 6)

Sunet Mould: The coin moulds found at Sunet are moulds of Allan's Class 6 coins. These moulds unlike the Khokhrakot and Naurangabad moulds could be used to cast single coin per mould. The Sunet moulds are discs of about 28 mm. and bear the socket of the coin 23 mm. in diameter. Around the coin-socket, there is a raised rim 2 to 3 mm. wide, which has a rough fractured surface, except for a smooth gutter-shaped channel leading across the rim into the socket.⁴³ Some of the Yaudheya coin moulds, consist of pairs of discs bound together back to back (i.e. by their blank faces) with the help of the mortar. It suggests that sometimes pairs of discs, each forming a set of moulds for obverse and reverse devices, were placed one above the other so as to make cylindrical pile. The engraved faces of each pair of discs faced each other, while the blank side of each of them was attached to the outside of the immediately upper or lower pair (as the

⁴⁰ *Ibid:* 40-48.

⁴¹ Shastri, Yogananda, *Ibid:* 173-174.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Sahni, Birbal, *Ibid:* 35

casting might be). The opening of the rim of each pair was usable for channeling molten metal into the inner side. Available data indicates that the series of discs were then plastered over on the outside, leaving only the channels leading to the socket uncovered. Molten metal could now be poured in different moulds separately, or it could be made to flow down through a vertical hollow column communicating with channels leading to the coin-socket of moulds placed vertically⁴⁴. According to Sahni, two or more cylindrical piles of moulds could have been joined together “round a vertical axis as to bring all the individual channels into communication with the single axial canal fed through a crater at the top”.⁴⁵

Sahni advocated the possibility of Khokrakot being one of the official mints of the Yaudheyas on the basis of the location of the moulds, i.e., in the *Bahudhānyake* region, the technique design and scripts etc.⁴⁶ Other scholars⁴⁷ also agreed that these moulds suggest that Naurangabad, Sunet, and Khokrakot were the official mint sites and presumably the most important Yaudheya centres. Though, Satya Prakash⁴⁸, A.N. Lahiri⁴⁹ and A.M. Shastri⁵⁰ are sceptical about the use of casting technique when primary mode of coin manufacture was through die-striking. Adoption of two different methods simultaneously generates their doubt. Another important aspect to take in to account is that, the counterfeiters on their part are very careless about the disposal of their apparatus. The state mint’s officials would normally take care to destroy the apparatus. It

⁴⁴ Sahni, Birbal: *Ibid.*; Mukherjee, B.N., 1989, ‘The Technique of Minting Coins in Early and Medieval Period’, in *Technology of Indian Coinage*, by Mukherjee, B.N. and P.K.D Lee: 15.

⁴⁵ Sahni, Birbal, *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Sahni, Birbal, *Ibid.*: 29.

⁴⁷ Dasgupta, K.K., 1974, *Tribal History of India- A numismatic Approach*, Calcutta: 19; Thakur, Upendra, 1973, ‘Early Indian Mints’, *JESHO*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Dec.): 276; Kumar, Manmohan, 1996, ‘Ancient Mint at Rohtak’, in *Numismatic Panorama: Essays in Honour of late Shri S.M. Shukla*, ed. by Maheshwari, K.K. et al: 94- Yogananda Shastri. *Prāchīna Bhārat meṃ Yaudheya Gaṇarājya.*, New Delhi: 165-174.

⁴⁸ Prakash, Satya and Rajendra Singh, 1968, *Ibid.*: 221.

⁴⁹ Lahiri, A.N., ‘Minting Techniques of the Tribal Coins’, in *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India (c. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.*, ed. by J.P. Singh and Nisar Ahmad: 81.

⁵⁰ Shastri, Ajay Mitra, 1997, ‘Yaudheya Coins: Contemporary Counterfeits’, in *Facets of Indian Civilization: Recent perspectives, Essays in Honour of Prof. B.B. Lal*, Vol III, (ed) by Jagat Pati Joshi: 633-634.

is further suggested that Khokrakot, and Naurangabad may have been forgers hub as from these sites we simultaneously find the coin moulds of the Kuṣāṇas and much earlier PMC.

C. Howgego⁵¹ had also suggested that it is commonly accepted that official mints are closed in an orderly fashion, and that there would be very few diagnostic traces for archaeologists to find, apart from evidence of some kind of metal working. Hasty abandonments are generally considered as indicator of forgers' workshop, where the find of coin blanks are considered principal category of evidence. In case of these Yaudheya sites, it indeed appears like hasty abandonment, as the moulds can be found on surface.

Manmohan Kumar points to the absence of the coin moulds from the excavated levels, also that the coin moulds were all found at a very localised spot and no building or a structure of any kind was found that can be associated with mint at that place.⁵²

However, he suggests that the town does show signs of fortification and that where Sahnī had explored, falls within the fortified township of Yaudheyas. The presence of such large number of coin moulds in such a close proximity with the settlement does not suggest it as forger's activity as forgers normally use far flung areas as isolated spots.⁵³

Shailendra Bhandare points to the absence of any cast coin of Yaudheyas found till now.

As the casting method of coin manufacture leaves evidence of a metal shaft on edge of the coins (if they were cast at all), no Class 6 Yaudheya coins bear such evidence of casting through individual moulds as they lack presence of a shaft on the edge of the coins. He puts down the possibility of these moulds of Sunet being speculated as 'terracotta currency'. However, according to him a non-monetary use such as in rituals can not be ruled out.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Howgego, Christopher, 1995, *Ibid*: 26 -28.

⁵² Kumar, Manmohan, 1996, *Ibid*: 101-102.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ <http://www.coincoin.com/1069.htm> (20th June 2010).

Another issue that has recently come up is whether the replication was contemporary counterfeiting or is later imitations. The absence of discovery of any mould from excavation raises the question as to what time period can these moulds be placed. Scholars have noted the existence of the imitations of various coins even after considerable period of time. The imitation through casting often can be a method to refill the availability of certain types of coins which may be in circulation since a long period but their minting may have stopped long back. One such example can be taken from the existence of the practice of moulding PMCs even till the rise of the Guptas⁵⁵. Hence, it is not unlikely that casting resulted from the felt need of coins that were still in circulation but had fallen short.⁵⁶ This process was not only limited to the PMCs, but also Kuṣāṇa coins, as Khokhrakot and Naurangabad both have also yielded PMC moulds, Kuṣāṇa copper coin moulds and Yaudheya coin moulds. Though, the peculiar thing is the absence of any such mould for Yaudheya Class 3 coins which are generally assigned the provenance of the Kangra region.

B.P. Roy⁵⁷ looked at the implications of counterfeiting of coins. He suggests that counterfeiting had two results: a) it caused inflation; b) was direct encroachment upon the authority of the state or issuing authority. Traditionally, both have negative implications on the economy of a region. Roy suggests that counterfeit coins were also used by the state for enriching the treasury during financial crisis. He cites a literary example where Kautilya has advised the king to appoint an agent, to work as servant of the treasonable person, who should mix false coins with real ones in the salary received from the lord and point that out to officials, so that on this charge the lord could be

⁵⁵ Thakur, Upendra, 1973, *Ibid.*: 273.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Roy, Brajdeo Prasad, 1976, 'Impact of State's Authority on the Regulation of Coin Economy', in *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, ed. Shastri, A.M.: 64-69.

prosecuted and a heavy fine may be imposed. This was suggested as a measure to overcome financial crisis.

Rao's argument suggests that counterfeiting may have had different roles and purpose at different periods. A process may always not have similar implications that it has in modern times. Counterfeiting may also be seen as an immediate solution to money deficiency. Further, what is questionable is whether the Yaudheya cast coins are really forgeries. To carry out casting of coins at such a large scale may indicate if this was not an illegal practice, as the number of moulds found is quite large.

Another important aspect that needs to be kept in mind is that, in either of the conditions, i.e. whether the cast coins were counterfeits or legal issues, what needs to be considered is that the issues were in circulation in the economy, and did play important role.

Significance of Metal

It is questionable as how far the gold coin helped in the large trade transactions and the copper coins were only meant for local circulation. Sharma⁵⁸ and Thakur⁵⁹ both are of the view that to determine the economic bearing of the coins of various metals in different period, one has to identify the sources of gold, silver and other metals, their abundance as well as paucity and determine the area and period of their circulation.

Scholars have carried out studies about the sudden change in coinage of post-Mauryan period, when silver currency was practically stopped and copper which was used side by side with silver as subsidiary money became standard coinage almost everywhere.⁶⁰ The sudden stoppage of silver is explained by the decline of unhampered

⁵⁸ Sharma, R.S., 1969, *Ibid.*: 8.

⁵⁹ Thakur, Upendra, 1971, 'Economic Data from the Early Coins of India', *JESHO*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Dec.): 272.

⁶⁰ Gopal, L, 1966, 'Source of Silver for the Punch-marked Coins' in *Chronology of Punch-marked Coins*, ed. Narain, A.K. and L. Gopal, Varanasi : 68-69; Lahiri, Bela, 1977, 'Indian Economy and the Local and Tribal Coins', *Seminar Papers*: 79.

trade after the decline of Mauryas and occupation of this region by successive Greeks, Scythians and Parthians. These scholars believe that in the absence of imperial authority in India the trade and commerce, according to Bela Lahiri, became more circumscribed and localised, as a result of which Indian moneyers had to fall back upon the easily available and common metals. Bela Lahiri further states that the symbols on the coins of post-Mauryan period also exhibit only local characteristic without stamp of any imperial authority. She states that silver was always scarce in India and the bulk of the metal was imported from outside, the main source being the Salt Range, and the region in the east of the Hindukush on Panjshir River, and it was only under Mauryan rule that silver could be acquired.⁶¹

The argument of Lahiri cannot be accepted fully. The large number of copper coins that were introduced continued to be in circulation with the silver coins of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇas. The growing number of the copper coins however, does essentially represent decline in long distance trade. It is commonly agreed by scholars that the copper coins were more local in character. However, this should be seen in comparison and in context with other coins that were simultaneously in circulation. The bulk of the copper coins should rather be seen as monetisation reaching down at regional level and the synchronisation of local economy with the larger exchange pattern. The commerce and exchange was no longer limited to few groups and only long distance trade but seems that even regional pockets participated in the trade. As a result of this, we find the growth in the number of coin issuing *gaṇas* and cities.

About the issue of scarcity of silver, we see that even when the Yaudheya coins are primarily considered to be monometallic, other *janapadas* and *gaṇas* like Kuṇḍas and Auḍumbaras did issue their coins in silver. These *janapadas* that issued silver coins

⁶¹ Lahiri, Bela, *Ibid.*

may have done that under the influence of the Indo-Greeks and Kuṣāṇas. Scholars are of view that those *janapadas* who also struck coins in silver probably with a view to enabling their traders to compete with the Indo-Greek silver in the market.⁶² Even in case of Yaudheyas, one silver issue was discovered by Cunningham, and Allan placed it in his Class 3 (see Table 2). Other interesting aspect is that Sahni⁶³ and Bajpai⁶⁴ reported the discovery of silver plated Class 2/5 coins. Scholars do not have a unanimous view if these were the result of state's practice or were forger's creations. Lloyd Laing explains the economic implication of silver plated coins. He suggests that at times of economic crisis, emergency issues of bronze coins coated with silver were struck.⁶⁵ He suggests three methods of silver plating. These methods ensured that the coins could not be easily distinguished from the original silver issues. However, in context of the Yaudheya coins, most scholars agree that these coins were dipped in silver and dried.

These coin specimens indicate the possibility of presence of some amount of silver coins of Yaudheyas, because otherwise there was no need to produce silver plated coins. It is possible that the silver coins may have been only for commemorative purpose; even in that case they may be useful to study the structure or organisation of Yaudheyas.

The limited number of silver issues by both Yaudheyas and its contemporary post 1st century should not be taken as an indicator of poor condition of their economy. The gradual shift from silver to copper is visible from the time the uninscribed copper coins came into circulation, and there is complete shift by the time of Kusāṇas. Thakur suggests that the transition from silver to copper coins is seen in the monetary order from time of Kuṣāṇas (who succeeded the Indo-Greek and the Śaka-Pahlavas), who limited

⁶² Allan, J, *BMC.*: cii, lxxxiv. Also see, Thakur, Upendra, 1971, *Ibid.*: 278; Thakur, Upendra, 1972, *Mint and Minting in India*, Chowkhamba Publication, Bodh Gaya: 80.

⁶³ Sahni, Birbal, 1945, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*.

⁶⁴ Bajpai, K.D., 1973, "Yaudheya Coins- A Critical Study", *JNSI* Vol. -XXXV: 90-94.

⁶⁵ Liang, Llyod R., 1969, *Coins and Archaeology*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London: 13.

their coin issues to gold and copper coins (except few silver specimens).⁶⁶ This sudden disappearance of silver money may largely be attributed to the drying up of some important source of silver in Kuṣāṇa times in the west and to their non-access to the silver mines of Kharagpur⁶⁷. Thakur emphasises on the gradual decrease in weight of silver after Greeks to suggest a gradual greater value for silver in the later period. He suggests that the Greeks had issued silver coins as heavier as 263.5 grains in weight and their copper coins were also of about 261 grains suggesting the value of silver was probably not much more than copper. Later under Scythians, the weight declined to 150.4 grains and 158.5 under Parthians and later to 56.5 grains, while the weight of copper coins almost remained constant between 261 and 288 grains.⁶⁸

On this basis, it can be suggested that decreased number of silver issues, in the time between 2nd century B.C and A.D. 3rd century, should not be taken as a period of decline in the long distance trade, rather it was in this period that various large number of copper issues, by regional *gaṇas* and *janapadas* in western part of the subcontinent, should be taken as an evidence of wider participation of regions in the trade and exchange relation. The wide connectivity and sufficient flow of copper coins at the regional level by the *gaṇas*, *janapada*, and city coins continued even in the Gupta period. While talking about the significance of the nature of metal used, what needs to be considered here is that the copper coins are better representatives of the economic conditions of a region, as the purpose of the copper coins is to be in circulation. This can be explained on the basis that even though the Guptas followed the weight standards of the Kuṣāṇas and issued coins in Gold and also in silver in western region⁶⁹, they did not

⁶⁶ Thakur, Upendra, 1971, *Ibid*: 280.

⁶⁷ Sharma, R.S., 1969, *Ibid*; Thakur, Upendra, *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*: 280-81..

⁶⁹ The Guptas struck coins fairly regularly in silver-first for western India and then for Madhyadesa after wresting those regions from the Saka-Satrapas, that includes the series of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta

issue any imperial copper coinage even when copper was easily available. This may also indicate the possibility of a comparatively autonomous monetary system operating at regional levels, controlled by *gaṇas* and certain cities.

Under Indo-Greek and Parthian rulers the economy of the subcontinent was connected with the Mediterranean, and silver was used by them as the common medium of exchange. It also appears that the Kuṣānas might have continued to allow the circulation of Greek silver coins in the territory and introduced their coins in Gold. Even when issuing of new silver coin may have stopped, this should not make us conclude that they were no longer in circulation. Since, gold may have been an accepted medium of exchange in even a larger territory i.e in East Asian regions as well, along with the Mediterranean region. Thus, here appears that there may have existed a three level transaction system. One at the local or regional level in form of copper and bronze coins (where the local *gaṇas* and *janapadas* enjoyed good level of autonomy), other at relatively larger regional level that might have included the Indian Subcontinent, Central Asian and Mediterranean region, while the third almost covering regions of China, Mediterranean, Central Asian and Indian Subcontinent. The level of autonomy at the local level may have also resulted them to have stable local economy even when there were political changes in terms of change in rule of dynasties.

Cribb's study suggests that the examination of the metal used for manufacture of coins may be used to understand the place of coinage in monetary tradition. In his study about the origin of metallic money in South Asia, he suggests that the earliest coins may have been borrowed, but the copper coins can be attributed to indigenous monetary tradition on the basis of their weight patterns. The references in the Vedic literature shows that before coinage appeared, the commonest means of payment were cattle or

silver plated coins that were very similar to the coins issued by Nahapāna. See Thakur, Upendra, 1971, *Ibid.*: 283.

gold necklaces (*niṣka*). Such system is also mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas, and no reference to the use of Silver as medium of payment prior to the *Astādhyāyī* is found. The emergence of a full fledged coinage in society which had previously only used gold in payments seems surprising and there is no doubt that silver currency was the result of the influence of currency system of a neighbouring culture. Cribb points out that the prototype of the first Indian coinage, i.e. the bent bar silver coins found in Chaman Hazouři hoard shows that it was itself an adaptation of a local Afghan imitation of Greek Coinage. It is with the introduction of copper coins that one can draw continuity from the indigenous monetary tradition.⁷⁰

Theoretical Aspects

Trade, State and Coinage:

The political structure of the Yaudheya, as discussed in the previous chapter, remains disputed. While it is clear that they were neither monarchical in nature, as the polities emerging in the Ganga Valley nor can they be called tribal. The structure of authority and distribution of power is ambiguous. Scholars have attempted to study the political and economic structures of Indo-Gangetic divide as alternative to the Ganga Valley by associating them with the republican, political and economic systems of Vedic times. Even though both the regions show corresponding development till 6th Century B.C., it was from post 6th century B.C that the two regions started to take different shapes. By the beginning of the Christian era, both regions went through monetisation, but the triggering factors were different. While in Ganga Valley one of the factors was

⁷⁰ Cribb, J, 2005, *The Indian Coinage Tradition*: 19, 20.

state controlled monetisation⁷¹, on the other hand, in Indo-Gangetic divide, the political factor had lesser role to play. This aspect of latter region makes it important to emphasise upon the understanding the economic structure even more. The introduction of coins considered to have dramatically altered the nature of exchange patterns and economic relations of various groups⁷² influenced the mode of taxation and established impersonal relations between consumers and sellers, enabled uniform pattern of taxation, and is considered most crucial to regulate the relation between the state and its employees, especially in the case when a standing army is maintained.

Unlike the Mauryan state, we do not have any knowledge of presence of a state that maintained standing armies in the Indo-Gangetic divide, therefore, what triggered monetisation was more than a political impetus. It is important to study the processes which triggered the growth of monetised economy, and whether this region went through the process of urbanisation. If the monetary system evolved as a result of the regional need and circumstances, or was the urbanisation 'secondary' in nature which influenced the monarchical state formation and urbanisation processes in the neighbouring areas.

The relationship between trade, monetisation and urbanisation is quite complex, however, in early historic period, these three phenomena have been considered to be closely related. In 1950, Gordon Childe⁷³ gave a 10 point scale to identify urban centres, in which the long distance trade formed an important criterion and the formulation of a ruling class was another. Though, such strict demarcation of 10 criteria did receive criticism by scholars and much more generalised definitions were given. The presence of

⁷¹ The nature of the control of the ruling class over the money during the period of Mauryas remains debated. Scholars who support the centralised nature of Mauryan state, based on the study of the *Arthaśāstra*, consider that the PMC must be the currency of the Mauryas and expanded in regions with the expansion of Mauryan authority. On other hand many believe that the coins must have been the issues of merchant guilds and goldsmiths, denying the nature of PMC as centralised money. On other hand numismatists categorise the PMC as both imperial and local issues. (P.L. Gupta)

⁷² Sharma, R.S, 2001, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A study of Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata: 119.

⁷³ Childe, Gordon, 1950, 'The Urban Revolution', in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, ed, (rpt. 1979),

trade through complex exchange pattern, hierarchical political institutions of control and revenue extraction remained to be among the other basic criterion.⁷⁴ The importance of political control has also found echo in Romila Thapar's view when she states that, "one of the more important results of the political unification of India under the Mauryas, and the control of a strong centralized government, was the impetus given to the various crafts. With the improvement of administration, the organization of trade became easier and the crafts gradually assumed the shape of small-scale industries."⁷⁵

The presence of monetary exchange and coins in early historic sites came to be considered as important criteria for qualification of a site as an urban centre by J.P. Joshi⁷⁶ and R.S. Sharma⁷⁷.

In Indian context, scholars have suggested that the major find spots of PMC are seen to fall on the trade routes. P.L. Gupta has shown that the imperial PMC are indicative of defined trade routes. He emphasises the co-relation of the ancient trade-routes with the find-spots of the PMC. Gupta explained this by showing correlation in the western, southern and eastern regions. Our interest lies in the western region, where the find spots fall on the trade route starting from Mathura and connect to the Taxila. Gupta suggests that starting from Mathura, the western most finds are located only at Indore, Hastinapur (Meerut), Behat, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Sialkot, Shahpur, Rawalpindi and Taxila.⁷⁸ This region is quite similar to the region occupied by the Yaudheyas as discussed in Chapter I. The occupation of Yaudheyas in this region, thus, makes it important to examine their association with trade and trade routes. The Taxila to Mathura

⁷⁴ Erdosy, G 1988, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford: 5; Keesing, R.M., 1981, *Cultural Anthropology, a Contemporary Perspectives*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York: 512; Allchin F.R., 1990, *Patterns of City formation in Early Historic South Asia*: 164.

⁷⁵ Thapar, R., 1961, 1997 (2nd ed.), *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: 72.

⁷⁶ Joshi, M.C., 1973, 'Concept of Urban Revolution and the Indian Context: Comments', *Puratattva* 6: 36 B.

⁷⁷ Sharma, R.S. 1974, 'Iron and Urbanisation in the Ganga Basin', *Indian Historical Review*, I(1) : 101

⁷⁸ Gupta, P.L. 1950, 'Some observations on the Punch-marked coins based on the study of Taxila hoard of 1924', *JNSI* XII, (II), pp. 136-150

route rather flourished even in post-Mauryan period, under the influence of the Indo-Greeks and Kuṣāṇas. The *āyudhajīvī gaṇas* that inhabited the Indo-Gangetic divide and Punjab plains are also considered to have taken up trade as an important economic activity. As has already been discussed earlier⁷⁹ this region had developed as an economic region that was connected to both the region west of the Indus and Ganga plains, through cultural and economic networks and which still retained its specific economic, political and cultural characteristics. Thakur,⁸⁰ also considers that although it cannot be said with certainty that long distance trade leads invariably to the introduction of coinage, however, coinage becomes a very remote possibility in the absence of such trade. In case of the Yaudheya their association with trade is more than certain from sources.

Nayanjot Lahiri⁸¹ has traced the *Uttarapatha*, on the map and it passes through the Indo-Gangetic divide covering the very region that the Yaudheyans occupied. This route can be traced back to 10th century B.C., and by the time of 2nd century B.C the ground was all set for the rise of autonomous yet connected monetary system.

Looking at the cultural assemblage of the Indo-Gangetic divide and Punjab plains,⁸² it cannot be denied that this region was under the process of urbanisation, though of a relatively different form than the process in Ganga valley, that is, only in terms of absence of the monarchical state⁸³. D.K. Chakrabarti considered the 3rd -2nd century B.C. as a phase of urbanisation in regions outside the Ganga Valley. He states that new

⁷⁹ See chapter 2

⁸⁰ Thakur, Upendra, 1971, *Ibid.* 275.

⁸¹ Lahiri, Nayanjot, 1992, *The Archaeology of Indian Trade Routes up to c. 200 BC: Resources Use, Resource Access and Lines of Communication*, OUP: 367-371.

⁸² See Chapter 1: pp

⁸³ See Chapter 2: pp

regions came to develop a clear and unmistakable urban base in the Punjab plains, Sind, lower Ganga valley, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Orissa.⁸⁴

Case Study of the Collection of Yaudheya coins at IIRNS, Nasik

IIRNS had a collection of about 150 coins registered as Yaudheya coins. These coins were all kept together and had not been typified into categories, this gave me an opportunity to experience how numismatists would identify and then categorise the coins for further study. There were no formal records that I could consult to know from where these coins were acquired by the institute. However, through personal talk with the Director of the institute I got to know that most of them were from Mandi hoard. All coins appear to have been die struck as the coins have cracks at the edge of the. Die striking method creates the stresses in the coin blank during the strikes which results in to radial cracks on the coin. The presence of these cracks also indicates that the blanks may not have been properly heated or have been in the cold condition during minting⁸⁵. Further if they had been cast, they would have some remnants of a metal shaft on their edge, which is formed when the metal in the runner of the mould solidifies and stays connected with the coin.

The collection had two major types of coins and few are unidentifiable as they are highly worn out. All coins are worn-out; none of the specimen had complete visibility.

⁸⁴ Chakrabarti, Dilip K, 1974, 'Some Theoretical Aspects of Early Indian Urban Growth, *Puratattva*, No. 7: 89.

⁸⁵ Balasubramaniam, R, and N. Mahajan, 2003, 'Some Metallurgical Aspects of Gupta Period Gold Coin Manufacturing Technology', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 38.4: 341.

Types First type can be identified as Class 3 Yaudheya coin of Allan's catalogue⁸⁶, now commonly called *Ṣaṇamukha Kārttikeya* type⁸⁷. These bear the legends, *Bhāgavata svāmino brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya* and *Bhāgavata svāmino brahmanyadevasya*. Within this type, there are 2 varieties. On the obverse 6 headed deity is common, and on the reverse the deer remains common symbol.

- a) Similar to Class 3 var. e in *BMC*. Obverse: 6 headed deity, with heads placed in



pattern. The deity stands facing, with spear in right hand and left hand on the hip.

The legend *Bhāgavata svāmino brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya* (only found in traces in all the) placed between 1 o'clock to 11 o'clock.

Reverse: Deer facing left towards the *caitya*. ☩ (*kalaśa*), *śrivatsa* and *svastika* symbol above the deer. (See Table 9)

- b) Same as above. The only difference is in the arrangement of the deity's 6 heads



as (Table 10)

2nd type, as in Table 11, *Citreśvara* type, which has been described by D. Handa as, showing tricephalous Śiva, holding a trident in right hand, seated on *Āpasamāra purusa* and a female figure to the extreme right with Brāhmī legend *Bhagvato Citreśvara Mahāmaṇaḥ* on the obverse and with or without deer standing before a female figure. In Allan's catalogue, however this has been considered as Kuṇḍinda coin.

Using these Coins as Source.

Certain observations can be made by looking at the physical condition of the coins, such as the smoothness and shape of the coin, representation of symbols and the

⁸⁶ Allan, John, 1936, *BMC*: 270-275.

⁸⁷ Shastri, Yogananda, 1999, *Ibid*: 146-152, Pl. 20; Handa, Devendra, 2007, *Ibid*: 205-206.

level of worn out condition. While the first two allow us to understand the conditions of the coins at the time of manufacture, the last one gives us information about what the coin may have gone through after coming out of the mint.

In case of the coins under study, the coins are not of a fixed shape, the coins are roughly circular, and also have rough ends. There are deep cracks at the edges of the coins. These conditions are neither accidental nor are the result of wear and tear. Rather, it seems that the manufacturer did not have any intention or need to smoothen the edges of the coin ^λ.

Further, in most of these coins the die seems to have fallen out of the flan, as a result the symbols have been partially struck on most of the coins. This appears to have been common with the copper coins of this time period. These features in the coin show that not much effort had been made to make these coins aesthetically appealing. From the appearance of these coins it can be ascertained that these coins were meant for economic purpose more than any thing else.

The sides of almost all coins have been, at least partially in not completely, smudged, but this appears to be more of the result of wear and tear and not corrosion. I could reach this conclusion on the basis of Alan Walker's study⁸⁸ of the effects of wear and tear and corrosion. He explains that, "wear is simply a function of the length of time the coin spent in active circulation while corrosion is due solely to the interaction of the chemicals in the soil with the metal of a buried coin. Severe corrosion does not necessarily take a great deal of time. Wear results in coins with a polished surface and with designs that become increasingly faint. The latter often devolve into silhouettes and finally disappear altogether. Corrosion, on the other hand, can cause coins to have a bubbled and pitted surface, to laminate or fracture, to crumble or, at best, to have part of

^λ This I got to know from my conversation with one of the research associates of the institute.

⁸⁸ Walker, Alan, 1976, 'Worn and Corroded Coins: Their Importance for the Archaeologist', *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 3, No. 3: 329-334

the surface flake away.”⁸⁹ The level of wear and tear a coin or the entire coin type depicts how long the coin type may have been in circulation, the longer the specific issue of coinage stays in circulation the more worn the average specimen of that issue will be.⁹⁰ The worn out condition of the Yaudheya coins under study thus depict that they may have been in circulation for quite a long time.

The early copper coins that are found through explorations and excavation are those, which have been lost at some point of time. The copper coins are generally not found in hoards, as their value as savings in comparison with gold and silver are much less. These copper coins are generally meant to be in circulation more frequently than gold and silver. Also they are more prone to be melted down and recast. Because of the sheer nature and need of copper coins to be in circulation and are more prone to daily handling and wear and tear, the early copper/bronze coins that are found are worn out. The worn out conditions make it difficult to study these coins, further since they do not attract the modern collector, these often remain unnoticed, even when they are found. However, what needs to be considered here is that the copper coins are better representatives of the economic conditions of a region. In Indian context copper coinage is considered as a local in nature, and we find their presence, even when silver and gold coins were struck. In the period of the Kuṣāṇas we also find that the *gaṇa* and city coins continued to be in circulation along with Kuṣāṇa coins. The gold coins of Kuṣāṇa coins appear to have covered almost the Central Asia, and north India, while the coins the *gaṇa* and *janapada* coins show of a regional character.


Observations

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 330.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

These coins can further be used for study of the manufacturing technique, and the symbol. However, the information which we can gather from these coins themselves can be limiting. As the provenance is not confirmed, not is the condition in which these coins may have been found known. When the coins are found out context, they can be studied for understanding of art history, symbols and the inscriptions. However, when one is to look at the larger picture or to use the coins for the study of aspects that are beyond what is on coins, it is important that these are studied in relation to the context in which they were found. In case the coins are found through excavation, their stratigraphic knowledge can be used to understand how these could be related to the material culture of their time, whether these could be associated with a cultural phase in history or a region.

Table 9:
Type 1 (a) coins, similar to the Class 3 (e) (BMC)

Sno.	Weight (in grams)	Obverse	Reverse	Picture Plate
1.	4.92	Standing 6 headed deity, with the arrangement of head in  pattern, with spear in right hand and left hand on the hip.	Deer facing to towards <i>caitya</i> in left, <i>kalaśa</i> (?) symbol above Deer	I
2.	4.84	Partial die mark. Deity visible with spear as above.	Out of flan die, deer is partially visible facing left of with <i>kalaśa</i> (?) symbol.	I
3.	2.82	-do-	Smudged face, partial visibility of <i>caitya</i> at the 11'o clock position	I
4.	4.1	-do-	Partial <i>śrīvatsa</i> visible over deer's head. Deer facing towards <i>caitya</i> towards left	II
5.	2.68	Smudged partial visibility of standing deity	Visible deer.	II
6.	3.59	Legs of the deity visible on the lower part of coin, with the lower part of the trident. Inscription visible on the lower left corner of the coin... <i>deva</i> ...	Partial visibility as above.	II
7.	4.64	The die has fallen partially out of flan, as a result the inscription falls in the middle of the coin. The partially visible inscription is... <i>nyade</i> ...	<i>Caitya</i> visible to the left corner of the coin, with kine facing.	III
8.	3.84	Same as no.4	Full body of the deer is visible with, <i>kalaśa</i> symbol above it.	III
9.	3.29	Upper part of deity's figure visible	Only deer's head and <i>kalaśa</i> is visible.	III
10.	3.15	Inscription ... <i>no brahma</i> ... is boldly visible	Die has fallen out of flan, partial <i>caitya</i> is boldly visible, <i>śrīvatsa</i> symbol, deer's figure appears to have been completely worn out.	IV
11.	4.31	Partial visibility of diety	<i>Caitya</i> and deer are visible, with signs of dotted border below the Deer.	IV
12.	4.5	Only the 6 Heads of deity is visible with signs of dotted border above.	Out of flan die placement, <i>Caitya</i> and deer are visible, with signs of dotted border below the Deer.	IV
13.	2.98	Smudged part of coin, only the lower body deity visible	Out of flan die mark, lower part of <i>caitya</i> and deer visible.	V
14.	4.24	Partial visibility of lower part of deity with spear	deer visible with <i>kalaśa</i> symbol above.	V

15.	3.71	Same as no. 11, with signs of dotted border.	Deer, <i>Caitya</i> , <i>śrīvatsa</i> , and <i>kalaśa</i> .	VI
16.	4.5	Smudged, though portions of inscription are visible.	Same as no. 6	VI

Table 10: Type 1 (b) coins


Sno.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse	Picture Plate
1	3.47	6 headed deity  , left hand on hip, Trident in right hand	Kine facing left towards <i>caitya</i>	VII
2	3.86	Traces of inscription on the right side of the coin.	Partially struck, traces of dotted border on the left.	VII
3	3.09	Partial visibility of deity as in no. 1	Deer visible, in the centre, <i>kalaśa</i> above its back and <i>śrīvatsa</i> above the head	VII
4	3.86	Same as above, with traces of legend, ... <i>nya de</i> ...	Deer facing <i>caitya</i> on the extreme left	VIII
5	8.73	Partial deity visible, with inscription ... <i>bhāgavata</i> ... anticlockwise	Deer visible at the lower left corner, with <i>kalaśa</i> above its back and <i>śrīvatsa</i> above the head	VIII
6	5.58	Lower body of the deity visible	Partial visible deer, on the extreme right tree symbol, <i>kalaśa</i> above the deer's back, and traces of dotted border on the top	VIII
7	4.27	Standing deity to the right side of the coin, with spear in right hand	Partially visible deer, symbol of <i>śrīvatsa</i> , above it	IX
8	6.33	Same as above, with trace of dotted border on the top-left	Partially visible deer facing the <i>caitya</i> at extreme right	IX
9	5.88	Partial depiction of deity, with inscription ... <i>bhāgava</i> ...	Deer's head and <i>caitya</i> and <i>śrīvatsa</i>	IX
10	4.81	Partially visible standing deity	Same as no.6	X
11	7.6	Same as above	Deer facing towards the <i>caitya</i>	X
12	4.4	Same as above, with inscription ... <i>nyade</i> ...	Deer in the middle, <i>kalaśa</i> above its back	X
13	7.39	Same as above, no inscription	Same as 11, with inverted <i>svastiaka</i> , and trace of dotted border covering from 9 o'clock to 1 o'clock.	X

Table 11: Type 2 (*Citreśvara* type)

S.No.	Weight (in gms.)	Obverse	Reverse	Plate no.
1	9.93	Partial visibility of seated deity (Śiva ?) trampling a human figure (Apsmāra Purusā ?) with dotted border visible on the left side.	Out of flan die-struck. Only back of deer is visible.	XI
2	9.75	Defaced.	Partially visible deer facing towards defaced female figure standing on the right.	XI
3	8.62	Some visibility of female figure.	Defaced but partial visibility of deer.	XI
4	10	Partial visibility of seated Śiva (?) with female figure standing on the right side of the coin.	Partial visibility of standing deer with ☒ symbol below with dotted border at the bottom.	XI
5	11.08	Same as No. 2	Same as No.2	XI
6	9.57	Same as No. 4	Standing deer	XI
7	10.12	Partial visibility of seated Śiva (?), trampling Apsmāra Purusā (?) with female figure standing on the right side of the coin.	Deer at the centre with ☒ symbol below.	XII
8	9.92	Same as No.7	Deer facing to the right with ☐ symbol above.	XII
9	9.55	Defaced ¹	Defaced with dotted border visible at the lower right side.	XII
10	8.70	Partial visibility of Śiva (?) with traces of inscription on left.	Same as No.7	XII
11	8.75	Out of flan die-struck with traces of inscription visible at the centre.	Feet of female deity visible on the right side with partial visibility of dotted border to the right.	XII
12	8.60	Śiva (?) trampling	Same as No.8 with <i>śrīvatsa</i> symbol above deer's head.	XII
13	11.51	Defaced	Deer facing towards female figure on the right.	XIII
14	8.42	Same as No.7	Same as above with ☒ symbol below the deer.	XIII
15	10.15	Partially out of flan. Partial visibility of seated Śiva (?) trampling Apsmāra Purusā	Partially struck, only the head of the deer is visible with ☐ symbol and traces of	XIII

		(?).	dotted border above.	
16	11.08	Same as No. 14 with traces of inscription to the right.	Defaced	XIII
17	9.35	Same as No. 15.	Same as No. 13 with □ symbol above the deer and traces of dotted border to the extreme left.	XIII
18	8.89	Same as No. 15.	Similar to No. 14, with partially visible dotted border to lower right.	XIII
19	11.13	Defaced.	Partial visibility female deity and of dotted border on right	XIV
20	10.38	Apasmāra Purusā (?) visible.	Partial visibility of kine facing right.	XIV
21	10.59	Defaced.	defaced	XIV
22	10.89	Seated Śiva (?).	□ symbol above the deer with ☒ below visible.	XIV
23	10.03	Apasmāra Purusā (?) on the centre of the coin, with partial visibility of feet of Śiva (?).	defaced	XIV
24	10.36	Standing female deity visible.	Same as No. 20.	XIV
25	8.53	Defaced.	Head of kine visible	XV
26	8.11	Same as No. 23.	Some parts of kine visible with ☒ below	XV
27	9.63	Seated Śiva (?) trampling Apasmāra Purusā (?).	Lower half defaced. In the upper half upper body of deer visible with □ symbol and śrīvatsa above deer back and head.	XV
28	9.27	Defaced.	Same as No. 19.	XV
29	10.94	Trace of inscription on right.	□ symbol above the deer with ☒ below visible.	XV
30	8.47	Defaced.	Partial visibility of kine.	XV
31	8.53	Same as No. 23.	Out of flan die. Dotted border, ☒ and kine's feet is visible	XVI
32	8.80	Same as above.	□ symbol above the deer	XVI
33	11	Same as above.	□ symbol above defaced deer.	XVI
34	9.2	Same as above.	Same as No. 20	XVI
35	9.32	Same as above.	Same as No. 31.	XVI
36	9.86	Same as above.	Kine with ☒ below.	XVI
37	10.31	Apasmāra Purusā (?) visible at the centre of coin with dotted border visible below.	Only the kine is visible.	XVII
38	9.45	Same as No. 23.	Same as No. 26.	XVII
39	11.27	Defaced.	Defaced.	XVII
40	9.83	Defaced.	Out of flan die. Kine's body	XVII

			is partially depicted on the coin with ☒ below.	
41	9.34	Smudged visibility, similar to No. 23	☒ and dotted border visible in the bottom.	XVII
42	10.27	Out of flan die. Apasmāra Purusā's (?) image partially falls on coin. Traces of inscription towards the right.	Same as No. 40.	XVII
43	11.19	Partial visibility of Seated Śiva (?) trampling Apasmāra Purusā (?).	Same as above.	XVIII
44	10.22	Die out of flan. Seated Śiva (?) trampling Apasmāra Purusā (?). Dotted border visible to their right.	Same as No. 36.	XVIII
45	10.95	Same as No. 43.	Defaced.	XVIII
46	2.55	Out of flan. Standing female deity is partially visible.	Defaced.	XVIII
47	10.41	Standing female deity is partially visible in the middle.	Defaced.	XVIII
48	11.08	Partial visibility of trampled Apasmāra Purusā (?).	Head of kine visible with ☐ above.	XVIII
49	9.06	Partial visibility of trampled Apasmāra Purusā (?).	Same as No. 36.	XIX
50	9.68	Partial visibility of a female deity standing on the right side of coin.	Kine's body is partially visible.	XIX
51	10.97	Defaced.	Same as No. 40.	XIX
52	10.23	Same as No. 49.	Defaced.	XIX
53	10.11	Same as above.	Partial visibility of female deity.	XIX
54	8.5	Defaced.	Same as No. 40.	XIX
55	8.44	Partial visibility Śiva (?).	Partial visibility of dotted border at the top.	XX
56	10.36	Same as No. 55.	Out of flan. Only Śrīvatsa is visible in the middle.	XX
57	10.16	Defaced.	Kine's body is partially depicted on the coin with ☒ below.	XX
58	10.20	Same as No. 55.	Defaced.	XX
59	6.61	Defaced	Die mark out of flan. Dotted border visible.	XX
60	9.71	Partial visibility of trampled Apasmāra Purusā (?) with traces of inscription.	Same as above.	XX
61	9.04	Partial visibility seated Śiva (?) with trident in right hand.	Defaced.	XXI
62	8.62	Same as above.	Same as No. 57.	XXI
63	9.92	Traces of inscription visible on the top.	Partial visibility of kine.	XXI
64	11.38	Traces of inscription visible,	Kine's head is visible.	XXI

		Śiva (?) seated with spear in hand, standing (female ?) deity		
65	9.64	Die mark out of flan. Partial visibility of Śiva (?) on the left side of the coin.	Same as No. 63.	XXI
66	9.69	Defaced.	Die mark out of flan. Same as No. 63.	XXI
67	10.20	Traces of inscription above.	Head of Kine visible with Śrīvatsa above.	XXII
68	9.70	Defaced, die has fallen out of flan.	Kine's body is partially depicted on the coin with ☒ below.	XXII
69	10.13	Śiva (?) seated with spear, standing (female ?) deity	smudged	XXII
70	10.15	Defaced.	Die marked out of flan, with partial visibility of kine and ☒ below.	XXII
71	11.52	Partial visibility of seated Śiva (?).	Partial visibility of standing deer with ☒ symbol below with dotted border on right side of the coin.	XXIII
72	9.36	Partial visibility of standing female diety.	Partial visibility of kine with ☐ above and ☒ below.	XXIII
73	10.96	Defaced.	Partial visibility of kine.	XXIII
74	9.40	Defaced.	Defaced.	XXIII
75	9.42	Partial visibility of seated Śiva (?).	Partial visibility of kine.	XXIII

Conclusion

This study of the Yaudheya coins is primarily of exploratory nature, where the main objective has been to explore the potential of numismatics as source for history writing. History writing in India is marked by the dependence of scholars on literary sources for derivation of a sustainable historical narrative. Epigraphic and numismatic sources are often used as supplementary and corroborative sources to the literature. The regions of early historical period that do not have much of literary references are often peripheral to the interest of historians. The importance of coins as source has mainly been recognised for identifying and establishing the chronology of various kings of Greek, Scythian and Gupta rulers by Indologists and historians and; to date the levels by archaeologists when the coins are found during excavation. Similar has been the case of the period of our interest, the Yaudheyas of northern India that fall in period between the Mauryas and Guptas. Yaudheyas have almost no contemporary literary reference but have a large number of coins issued by them. The large numismatic collection has been receiving attention from the numismatists, but remains marginalised in the writings of historians. Often, the description of such communities and period would end with mentions like frontier states, marginal community and small republics with simpler socio-political organisation in the history texts. The mainframe would include the empires.

For the historians, the role of numismatic study had principally been the fixing of political chronology and also the discovery of missing links in the dynastic list of kings.

What is peculiar to the Yaudheya coins is that they do not bear the names of the kings,¹

¹ The coins of Kuṇinda, Auḍumbara, Mālavas and Vemaki do bear the name of their chiefs in their later coin issues, however, we do not find the name of any chief in the Yaudheya coin types.

nor have Yaudheyas been studied as an important dynasty using literary sources. The nature of their polity (as has been discussed in the second chapter), does not reflect the general pattern of state-formation as present in Brahmanical texts of the Early Historical period. The study of Yaudheya and other *janapada* through coins, thus, provides possibility to explore viable alternatives to a master narrative.

The case of Yaudheyas is most appropriate for the use of coins to their fullest as other sources (i.e. literary and epigraphic) in themselves are insufficient. However, when coins are studied only on their face value, the information that can be gathered becomes limited. The meaning that is derived from an artefact is neither intrinsic to them nor unchangeable; rather they acquire meaning through practice that is dependent on the context². Thus, to compensate these limitations, it becomes important that the coins are studied in context – both in context of the literary tradition and the archaeological context where they were found. Von Kaenel explains, the term ‘context’ ‘refers to everything in the ‘space’ in which a coin once ‘lived’, where it fulfilled its function as a coin.’³ Understanding the coins in context, helps understand the ‘social life’ of coins as money and otherwise. This argument holds good for the Yaudheya coins as well.

Belien suggests that when analysing the coins and their context, one should take into account the factors that governed the deposition and loss of coins. The size of coins, the metal they are made of, their value, the number of coins of a certain type or

² Johanson, Keistiina, 2006, ‘The Contribution of Stray Finds for Studying Everyday Practices- The Example of Stone Axes’, *Estonian Journal of Archaeology*, Institute of History of Tallin University, 10, 2: 100.

³ See the abstract from H.-M. von Kaenel’s paper ‘Coins in Context- a Personal Approach’ presented in Numismatics Session titled “Contextual Numismatics: New Perspectives and Interdisciplinary Methodologies,” at the 2009 AIA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. See [http:// coinarchaeology .blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=46](http://coinarchaeology.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=46) (accessed on 15/7/10).

denomination in circulation on a site, the way they were used and the methods used during excavation, must all be considered.⁴

Coins as representative of traditions and systems

When we look at the concept of 'Money as Metaphor', the peculiar nature of money as source or rather in our context, coins as source can be identified. As all the metaphors are to some extent, linked to the nature of coins - coins as eyewitnesses, as participants of the past and as memory - refer to the nature of coins as source. Many scholars are of view that artefacts are events that continue to exist even later⁵. Similarly, coins are also (representatives, participants of) events that continue to exist even later. In case of Yaudheyas, the various types of coins that were issued have been taken by scholars to be the result of different events/ processes. Some scholars consider it as result of political events: (i) Class 2 coins of Yaudheyas are considered as a result of political alliance and merger between Agāchas and Yaudheyas, Class 3 coins as result of alliance with the Kuṇindas; (ii) Class 6 coins denoting victory of Yaudheyas over Kuṣāṇa. This approach appears to highlight the political and ideological role of the coinage, i.e. to assert their political sovereignty over the region under their occupation.

On the other hand, some scholars consider issuance of different types as representative of the economic processes. Expansion of their coinage to the Kangra

⁴ See the abstract from P. Belien's paper 'From Coins to Comprehensive Narrative? The Coin finds from the Roman Army Camp on Kops Plateau at Nijmegen...' presented in Numismatics Session titled "Contextual Numismatics: New Perspectives and Interdisciplinary Methodologies," at the 2009 AIA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. See <http://coinarchaeology.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=46> (accessed on 15/7/10).

⁵ Earle, T., 2004, 'Culture Matters in Neolithic Transition and Emergence of Hierarchy in Thy, Denmark: Distinguished Lecture', *American Anthropologist*, 106, 1:114; Johanson, Keistiina, *Ibid*.

region where, the coin types (Class 3) had to be similar to Kuṇḍa coins that were already in circulation in that region. Similarly, the Class 6 coins of Yaudheyas show adopted traits of both Class 2 and Class 3 coins, since Class 6 coins were to be circulated in common geographical areas i.e. Punjab, Indo-Gangetic divide and the Kangra region.

Since coins incorporate the dimensions of object, text, and picture, numismatics is closely related with the disciplines like history (both economic and art history), archaeology as well as anthropology⁶. Therefore, numismatist needs to often use and relate the materials, methodologies and terminologies from these subjects. The coins can be used to understand the cultural and economic traditions by looking at their relationship with other coin types and systems in both vertical (diachronic) and horizontal (synchronic) forms of monetary tradition. While horizontal tradition refers to those coins and systems that may have been contemporary to the Yaudheyas in the same and neighbouring regions; the vertical tradition may be understood as the position of Yaudheya coins in the region over a period of time in context of the weight patterns and metallic use.

What can be derived from the study of Yaudheya coins in context of horizontal monetary tradition is that, one needs to look at the relationship between Yaudheya coins with the other types of coins that may have been contemporary to them within the same region and time. When we compare and contrast Yaudheya coins with their contemporary coin issues, that are quite large in number and types, we find that a narrative about the relationship between the coin issuing groups could be established.

⁶This is taken from the abstract from Nanouschka Myrberg's paper 'Working in Between: Numismatics as Historical Archaeology' presented in Numismatics Session titled "Contextual Numismatics: New Perspectives and Interdisciplinary Methodologies," at the 2009 AIA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. See <http://coinarchaeology.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=46> (accessed on 15/7/10).

The Yaudheya coins circulated along with coins of other *janapadas* of same weight system of the *kārsāpaṇa* tradition (Map 1), as well as, with the Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa coins that followed the *drachma* weight pattern. Since the Yaudheya coins did not circulate alone and independently, they can not be studied in their sole entirety. It becomes important to identify the possible relationship between the different types of coins that may have influenced the Yaudheya coins. To study the position of the Yaudheya coins in the larger monetary tradition in history, it is important to examine if the Yaudheya coins show any continuity with the monetary system which may have existed before them in terms of similarity in following the weight standards and use of symbols and icons. Further, we find that what succeeded the Yaudheya coinage in the Indo-Gangetic divide, were the coins of the Guptas. The symbols like *śankha*, *caitya*, tree and representation of a divine figure or deity continued to be used by Guptas in their coins even after the Yaudheya coins. However, in terms of the weight pattern and use of metal, the latter does show a discontinuity with Yaudheyas but continuity with Kuṣāṇas.

Though, a coin may appear like an artefact that was frozen in its time, and could only provide information based on its intrinsic attributes, it is very much possible to establish a narrative out of the coins. Coins are parts of historical events and processes, and are not isolated phenomena, suspended in space and time. The economic and cultural matrix in which they may have functioned is also to be studied. The Yaudheya coins were not the only coins which circulated in the Indo-Gangetic region. The excavation reports suggest they were in circulation with other *janapada*, Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa coins. It is important that these coins are thus studied in relation with each other to understand the large economic system. The Yaudheya and Kuṣāṇa coins appear to have followed two different monetary systems on the basis of weight system they adopted.

Thus, this region under occupation of Yaudheyas was at the crossroad of two different monetary systems, and if not certain, it is probable that nature of transaction facilitated by the two types may have also differed. The Yaudheya coins may have been used for local and daily transactions, while the coins of Kusāṇa facilitated long distance and luxury transaction. Though, later the issuance of copper coins by Kuṣāṇa was a method to penetrate the local levels of transaction as well.

Limitations of Present Approaches and System

The relationship between numismatics, history and archaeology appears to be quite blurred in the Indian context. The role of the coins in archaeology remains for the purpose of dating the layers or periods in which they are found. But, this practice is only possible when the coins are easily recognisable. Numismatists like P.L. Gupta⁷ and A.N. Lahiri⁸ have tried to identify the limitations in the present manner of archaeological reports. Often, the base metal coins found in excavation, if corroded gets unnoticed and is not referred to. While, the reasons for this as pointed by Lahiri, is that no excavating team in India has trained numismatists among its members, as a result, less known coins remain unidentified and unknown.⁹ For example, the excavations at Rairh and Sanghol that have yielded large number of coins were not systematically reported and could not be studied. Often, coins which come out from excavation are mostly left unclean and go into the artefact collection units of ASI and/or other institutions involved in the

⁷ Gupta, P.L., 1987-88, 'Numismatists and Archaeologists', *Puratattva*, no. 18: 85-88.

⁸ Lahiri, A.N., 1990, 'What the Numismatist Expects from Archaeologists', in *Historical Archeology of India: A Dialogue Between Archaeologists and Historians*, ed. Amita Ray and Samir Mukherjee, Books and Books: 212-213.

⁹ Lahiri, *Ibid*: 213.

excavation. In case of the coins that came out of the Rairh excavation, as Lahiri points out, were kept in trunks and gunny bags, but have not been made available for studies. Similar is the case with those coins excavated from Sanghol that are kept in the Rang Mahal Museum of Punjab, Punjab State Department of Archaeology. About 400 coins found were cleaned by ASI and are presumably in Purana Qila with C. Margabandhu. Apart from these, no attempts have been made to clean and catalogue these coins, nor are they being scientifically preserved.

Lahiri suggested the steps that an archaeologist could follow to provide the much required help to the numismatists. Some of these included proper numbering of every coin found with mention of the exact find spot- the site and its location; sector number; trench number; stratum number etc.- and getting the coins scientifically cleaned.¹⁰

Even in case where proper stratigraphical records of the excavation have been made, very few of these reports have actually been published and remain inaccessible to the students of numismatics. It is partly because of the unawareness about the presence of such records and mostly because of the bureaucratic hurdles which does not provide easy access to such reports.

Another problem is that, once these coins are kept in the museums unreported, they are no longer accessible to the students of numismatics. The volume of such coins also remain unknown, as what numbers of a particular type of coin get displayed in the museum for visitors solely depends on its aesthetic value, and on the discretion of the museum authorities. To base the study of coins on their number and representation in museums, thus becomes questionable. While studying the collection of coins in a

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

museum, one needs to keep in mind the factors that determine the collection in museum. Firstly, it is the personal choice of the curator; secondly, their intention of possessing few samples of as many as coin types possible; thirdly, the purpose of the museums. Mostly, the purpose of the museum is to celebrate the glorious past, and reinforce the concept of pride in ones national heritage and history. In such case, those artefacts that are aesthetically superior would receive the priority, when it comes to displaying artefacts.

Studies of the earliest coins began with the interest of private collectors who acquired coins through explorations and even purchased them from local markets. The field of numismatics is still largely dominated by the private collectors and hobbyists than those of academicians. Though, some collectors have successfully made transition towards a more serious academic enquiry. The role of collectors in numismatic studies, however, has been less discussed upon, despite the fact that often they facilitate academicians by allowing access to their private collection. However, the motivations of private collectors differ from that of academician. Those coins present in private collection must be studied with caution since ‘...they (coins) have undergone a modern process of selection in order to enter a collection and do not represent the ancient reality of what was lost’.¹¹

In the present context, when numismatic studies are becoming more nuanced, the institutes like IIRNS are providing a platform for the students of numismatics the exposure to handle and study the coins. The number of such institutes are however very

¹¹ See the abstract from P. Belien’s paper ‘From Coins to Comprehensive Narrative? The Coin finds from the Roman Army Camp on Kops Plateau at Nijmegen...’ presented in Numismatics Session titled “Contextual Numismatics: New Perspectives and Interdisciplinary Methodologies,” at the 2009 AIA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. See <http://coinarchaeology.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=46> (accessed on 15/7/10).

less. Therefore, other museums should also open their collection for academic examination. This will allow fuller utilisation of coins as source for studying history.

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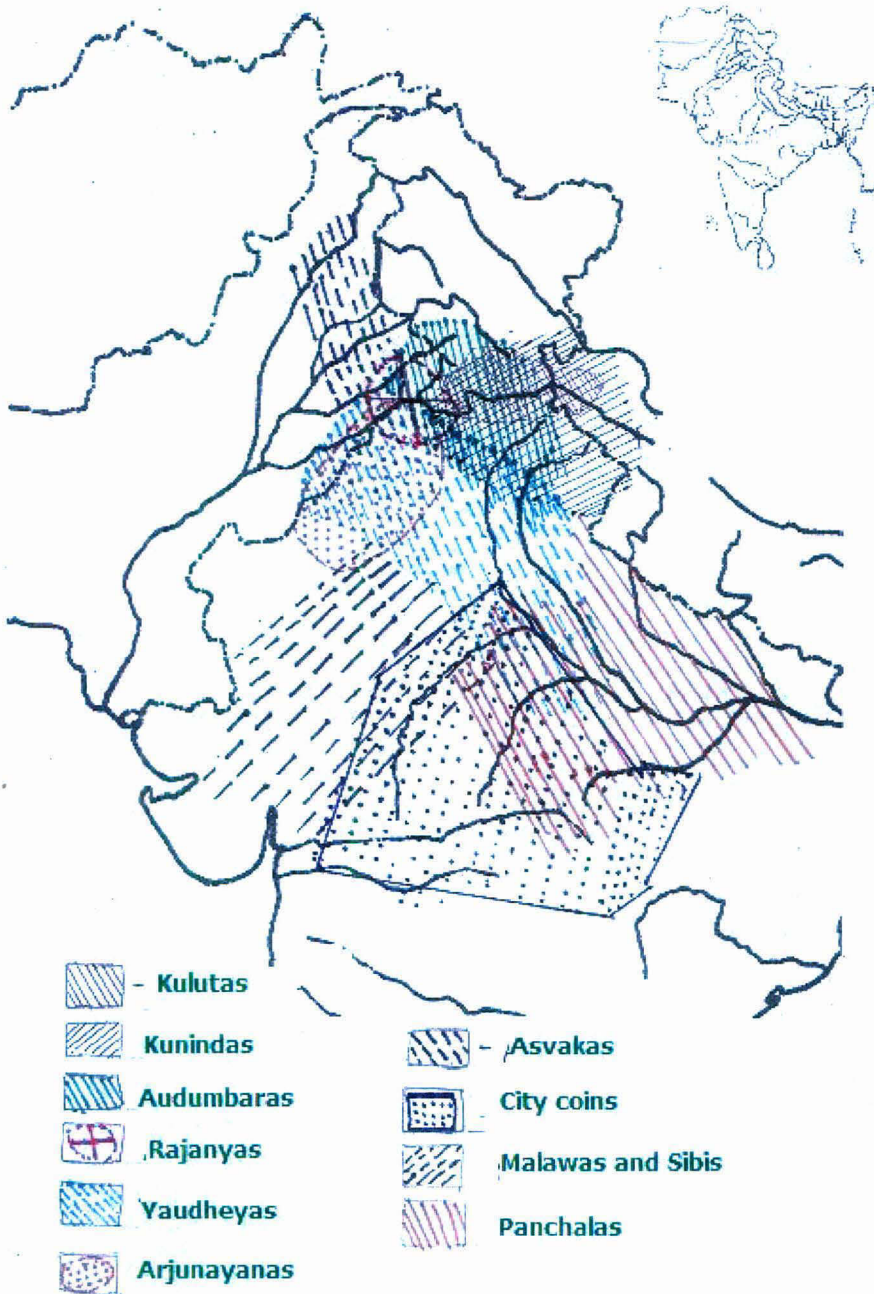
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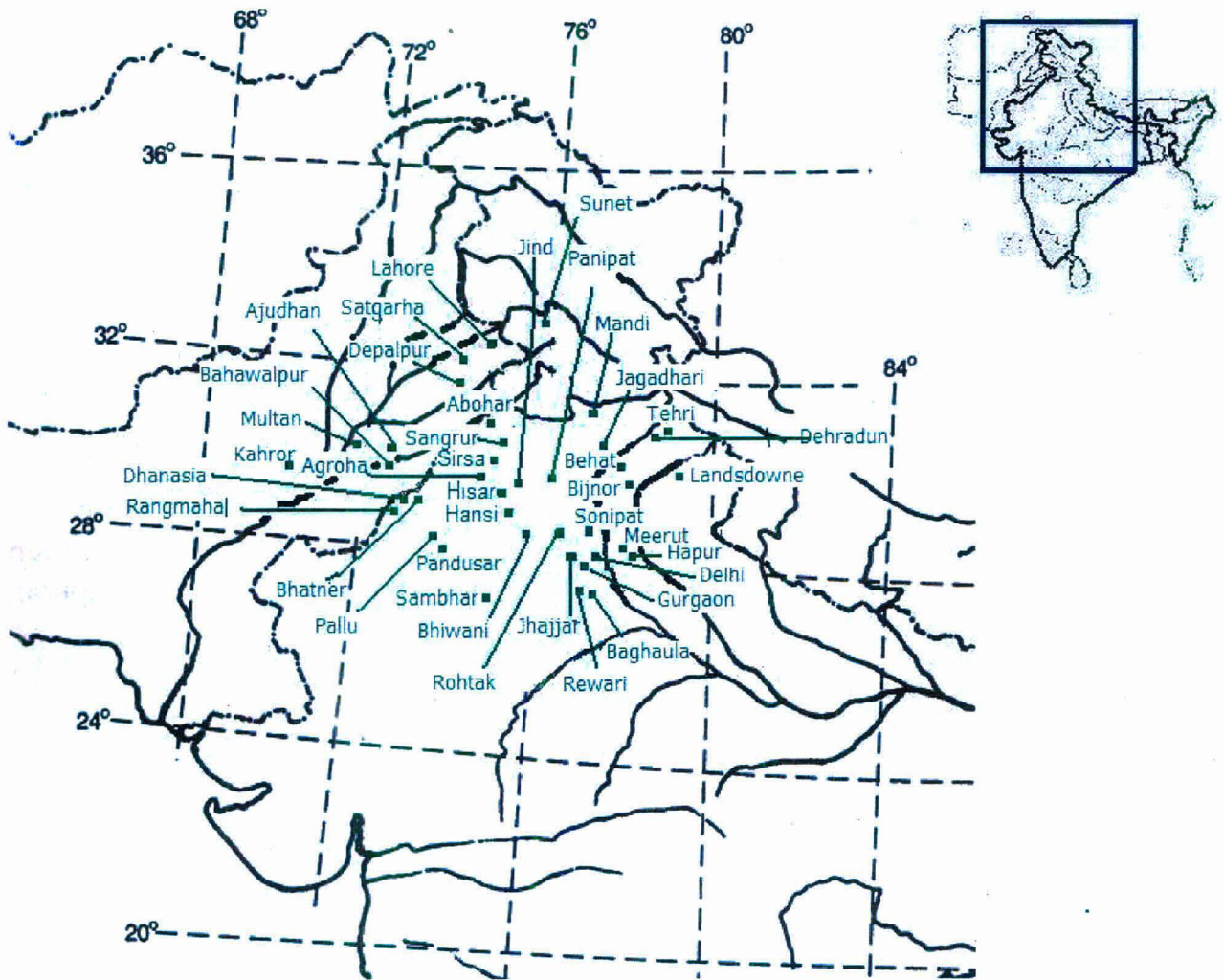
Map 1

Distribution of Inscribed Copper Coins (c. 300 B.C. to c. A.D. 300)



Map 2

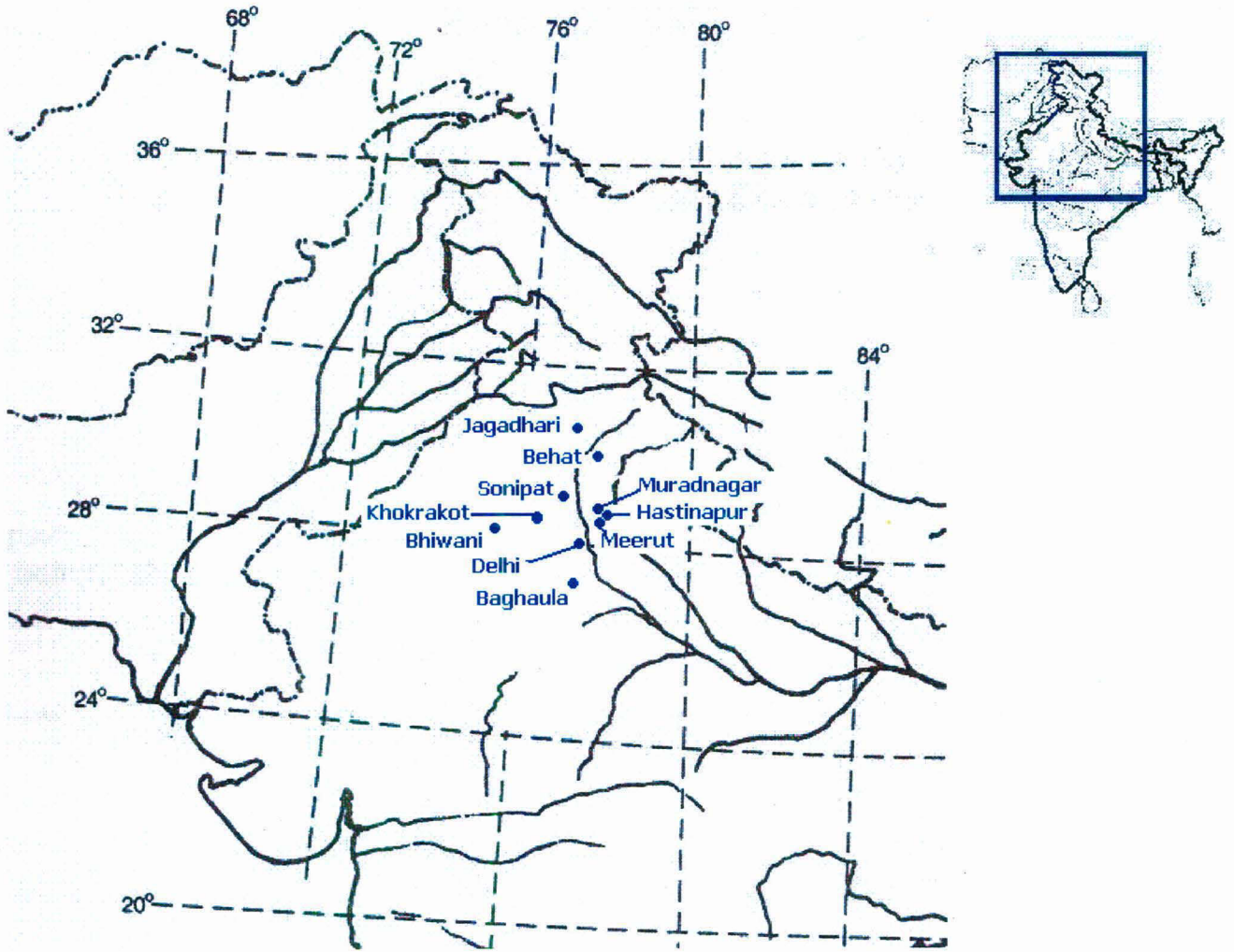
General Distribution of Yaudheya Coins



Based on Table 3

Map 3

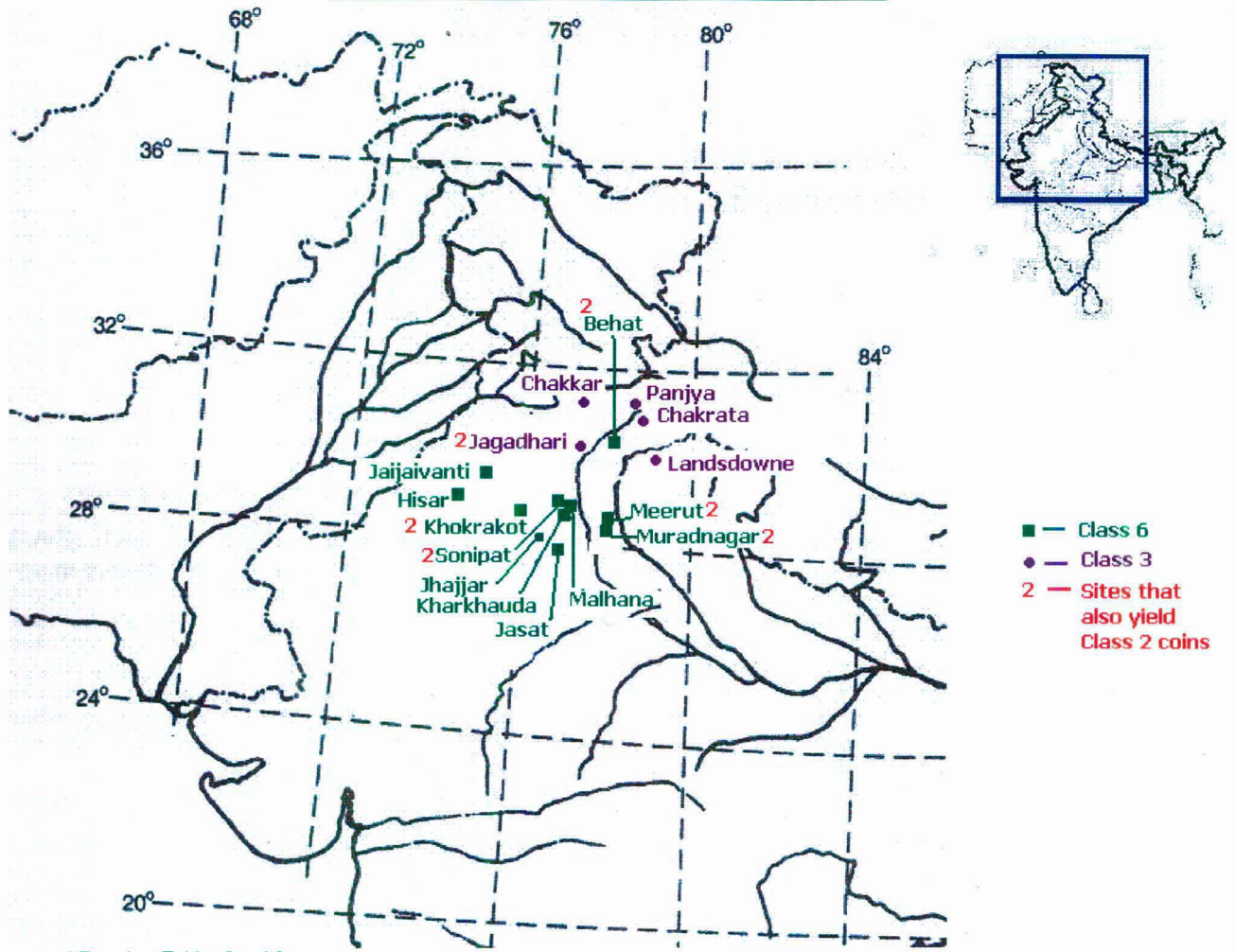
Distribution of Class 2 Coins of Yaudheyas



* Based on Table 4

Map 4

Distribution of Class 3 and Class 6 Coins



* Based on Tables 5 and 6

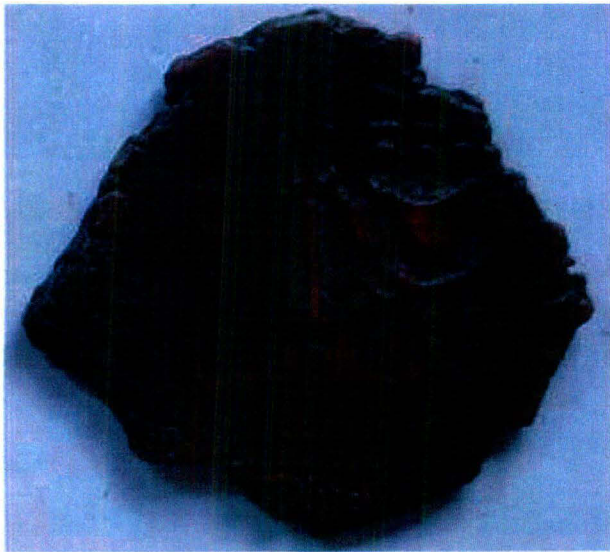
Plate I
Coins in Table 9

Obverse

Reverse



Sno.1



Sno. 2



Sno. 3

Scale for S.nos. 2 and 3 similar to Sno.1.
Scale in cms.

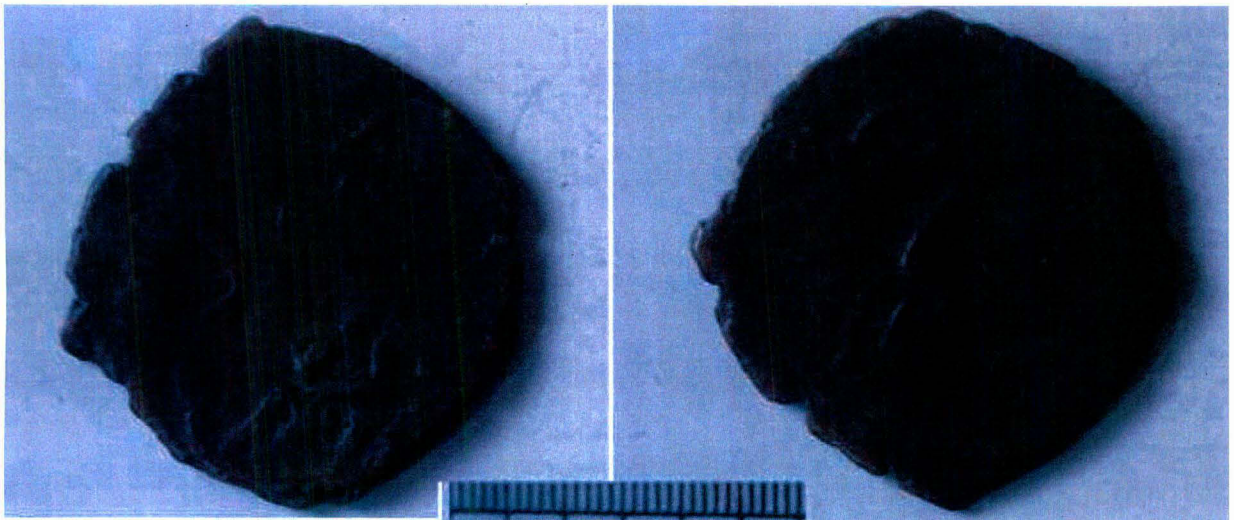
Plate II

Obverse

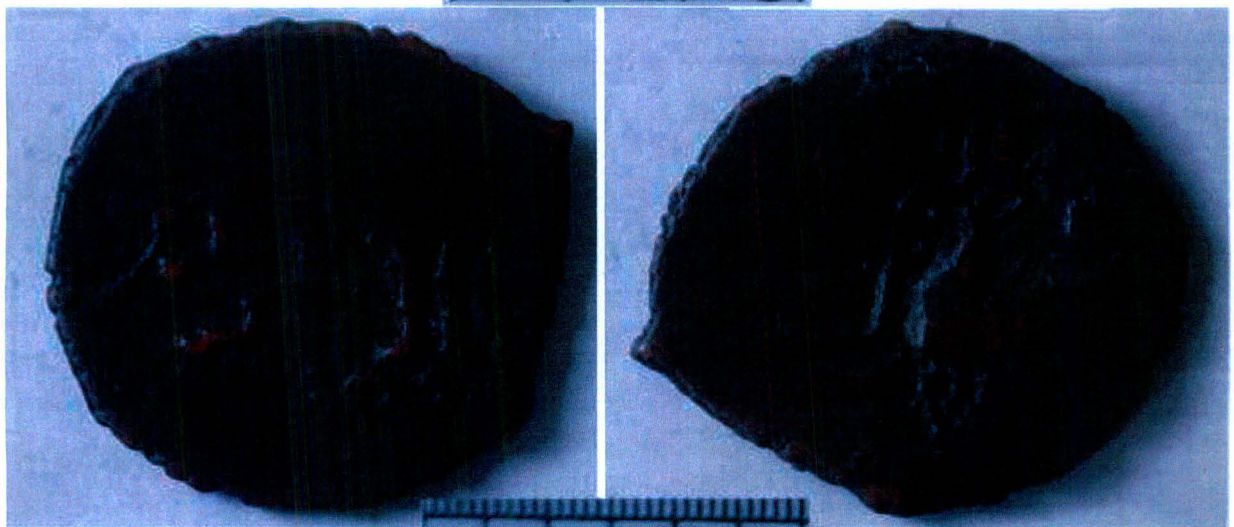
Reverse



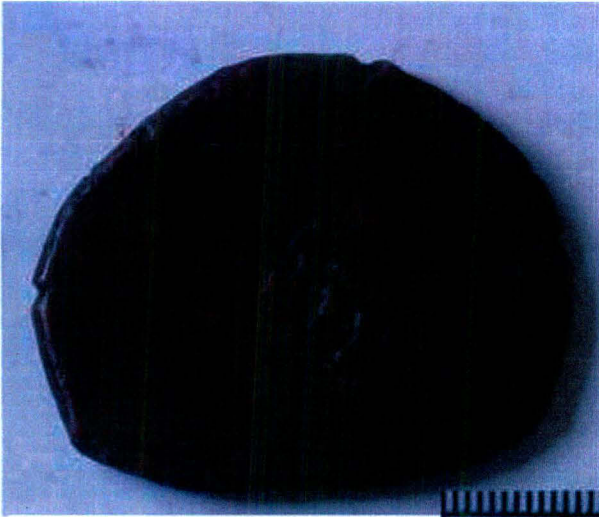
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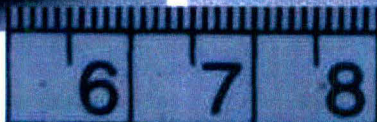
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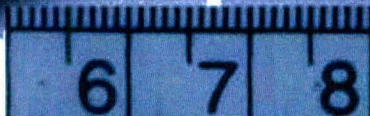
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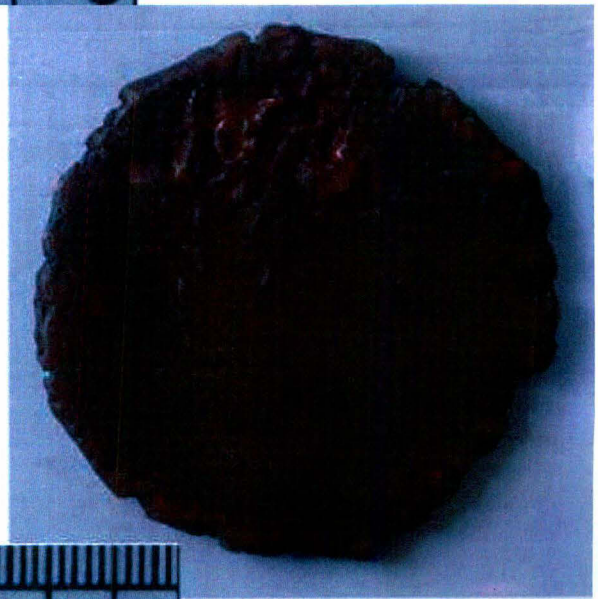
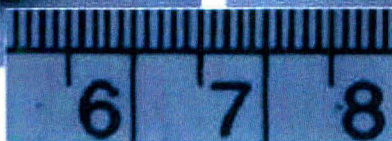
S.no. 7



S.no. 8



S.no. 9





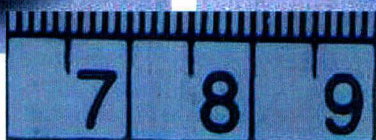
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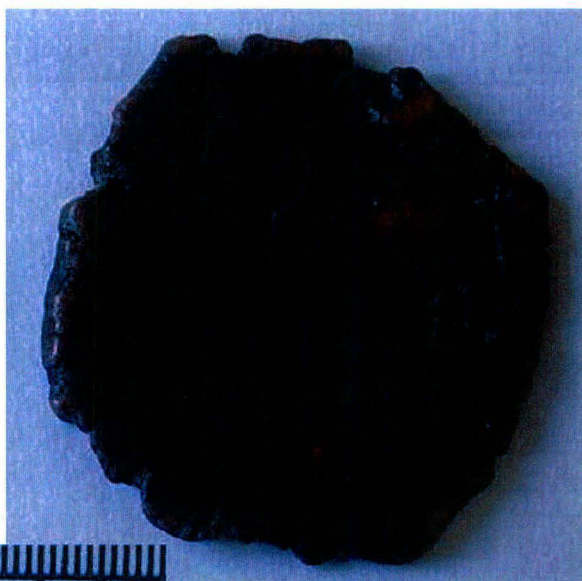
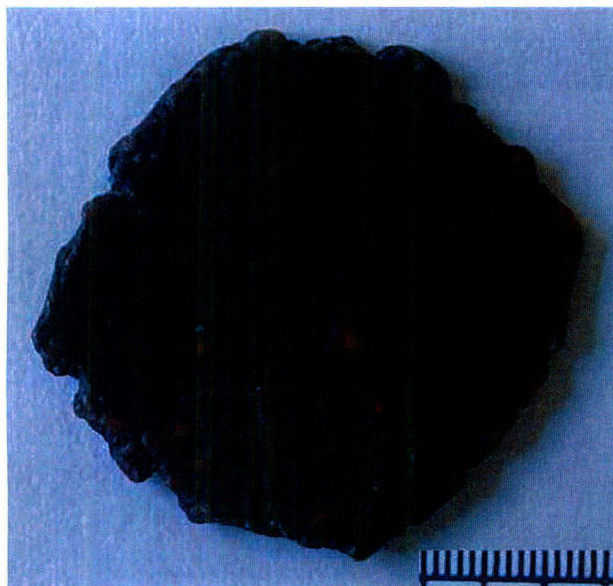
S.no.11



S.no. 12



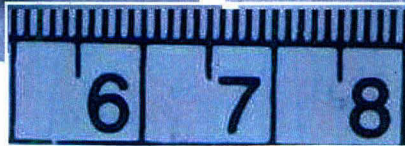
S.no. 13



S.no. 14



S.no. 15



S.no. 16

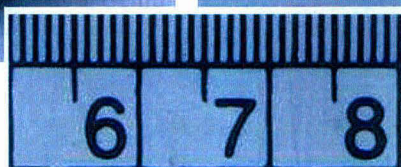
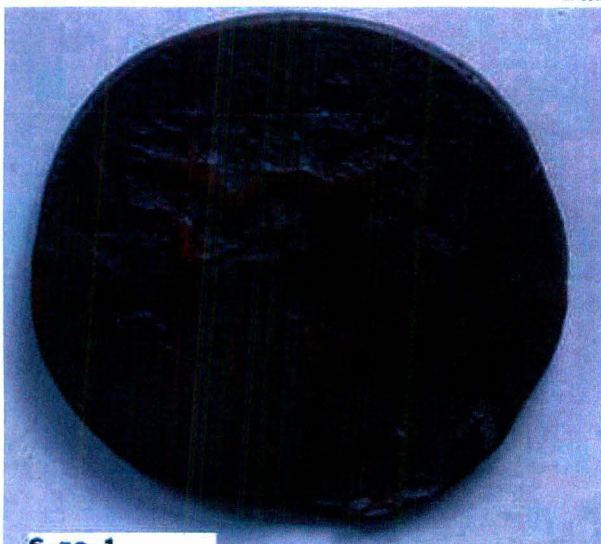
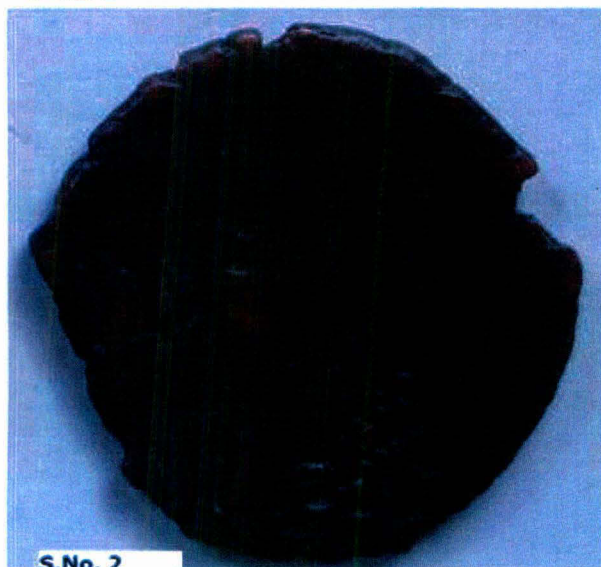


Table 10



S. no. 1



S.No. 2



S.no. 3

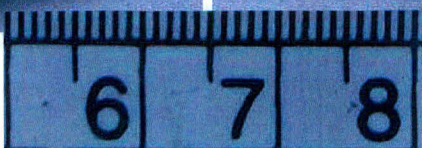
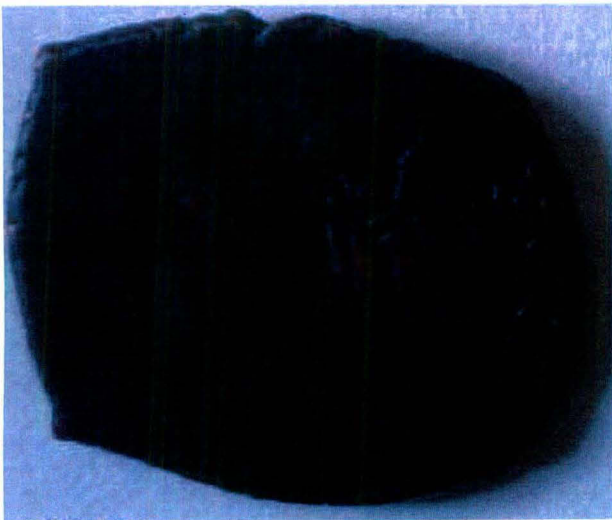
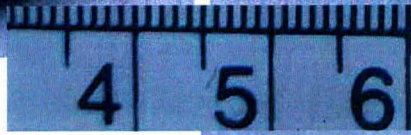


Plate VIII



S.No. 4

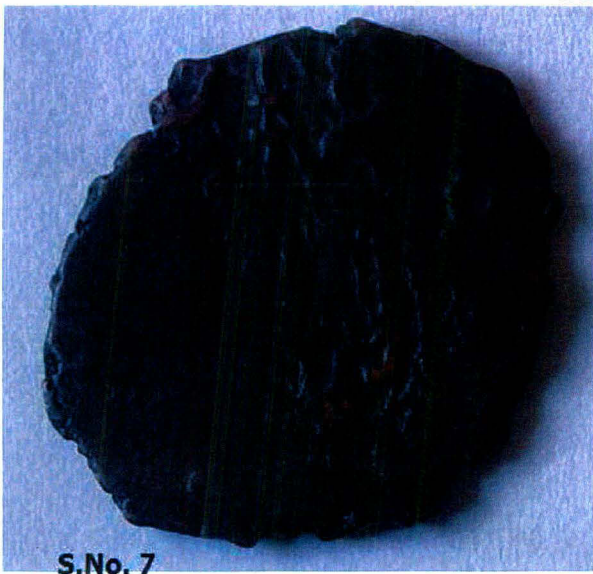


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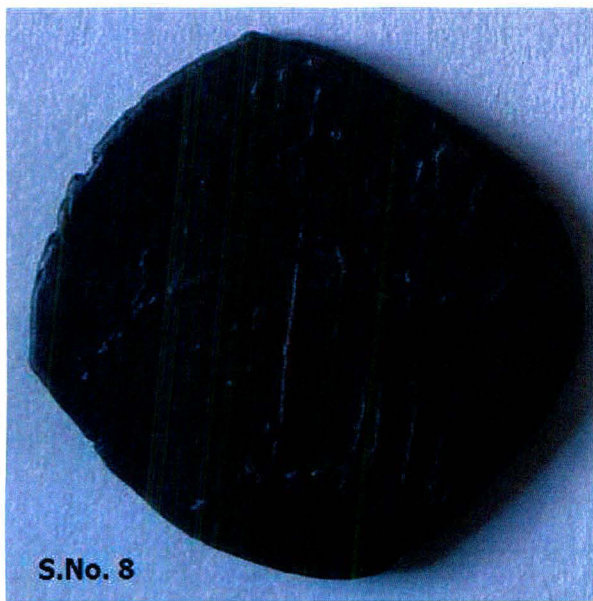


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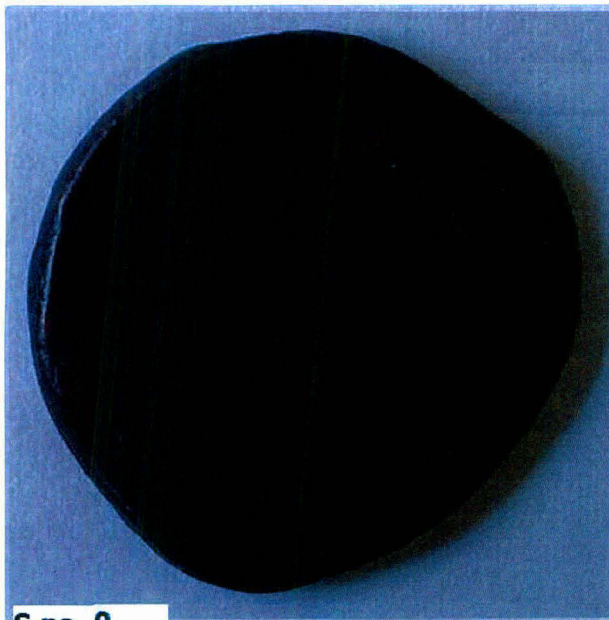




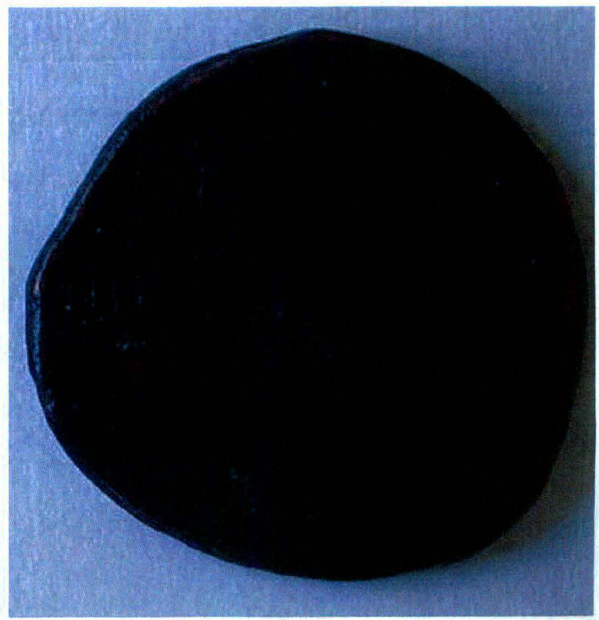
S.No. 7



S.No. 8



S.no. 9





10-13 (Obverse)



10-13 (Reverse)

Plate XI
Table 11



1-6 (Obverse)



1-6 (Reverse)

Plate XII

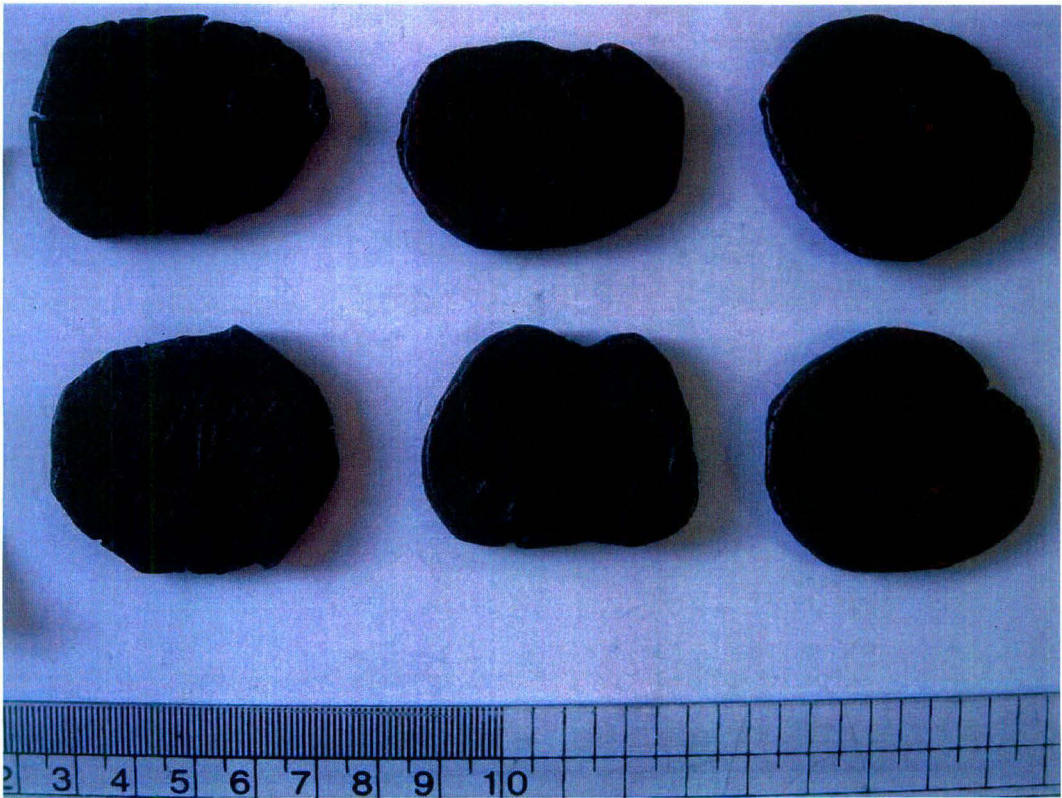


7-12 (obverse)



7-12 (Reverse)

Plate XIII



13-18 (Obverse)



13-18 (Reverse)

Plate XIV



19-24 (Obverse)



19-24 (Reverse)

Plate XV



25-30 (Obverse)



25-30 (Reverse)

Plate XVI



31-36 (Obverse)



31-36 (Reverse)

Plate XVII



37-42 (Obverse)



37-42 (Reverse)

Plate XVIII

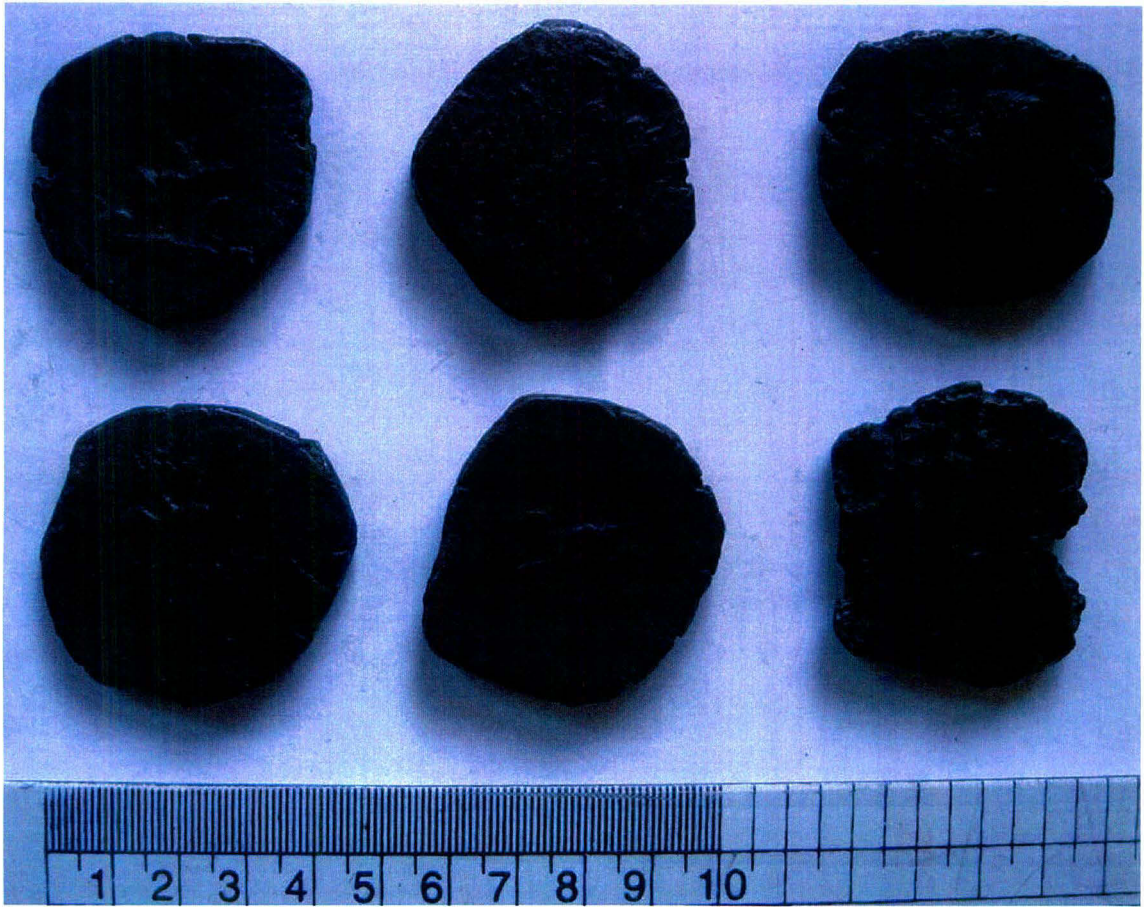


43-48 (Obverse)



43-48 (Reverse)

Plate XIX



49-54 (Obverse)



49-54 (Reverse)

Plate XX



55-60 (Obverse)



55-60 (Reverse)

Plate XXI



61-66 (Obverse)



61-66 (Reverse)

Plate XXII



67-70(Obverse)



67-70 (Reverse)

Plate XXIII



71-75 (Obverse)



71-75 (Reverse)

Plate XXIV

Yaudheya Class 2 Mould from Khokrakot

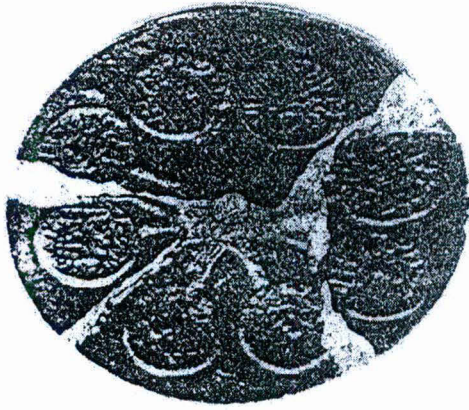


Fig. 1 (a)

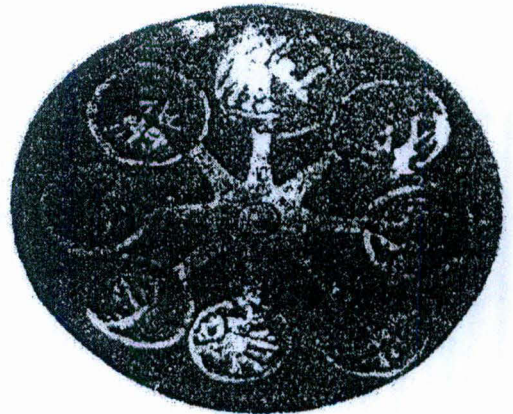


Fig. 1 (b)

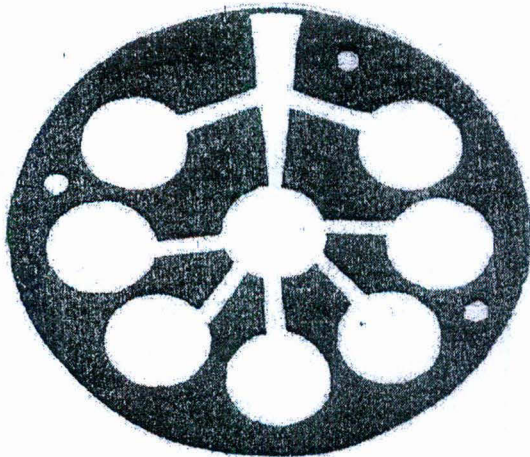


Fig. 2

Plate XXV

Method of Coin Manufacture From Khokhrakot

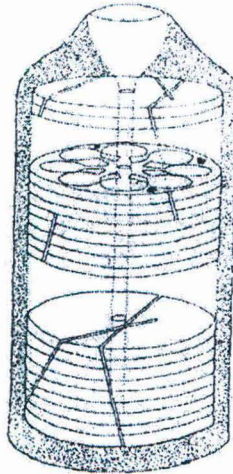


Fig. 3 (a) Vertical Method

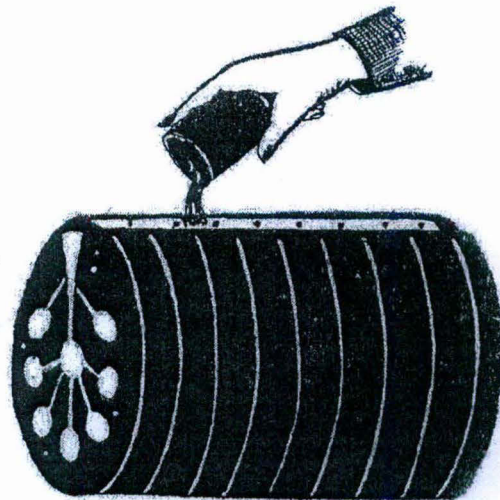


Fig. 3 (b) Horizontal Method

Plate XXVI

Naurengabad Mould

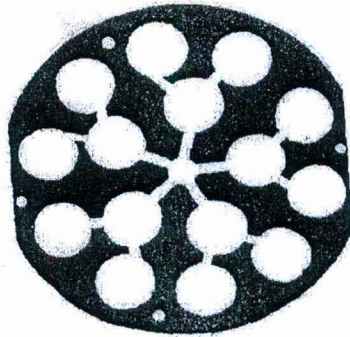


Fig. 4 (a)

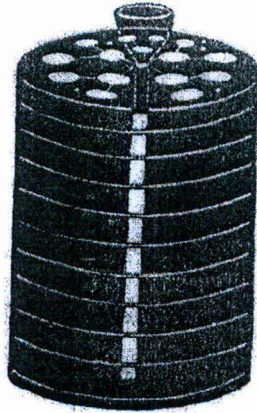


Fig. 4 (b)

Mould Fragments from Naurangabad

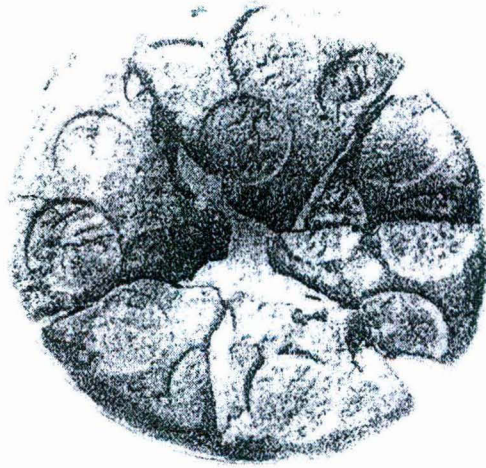


Fig. 5

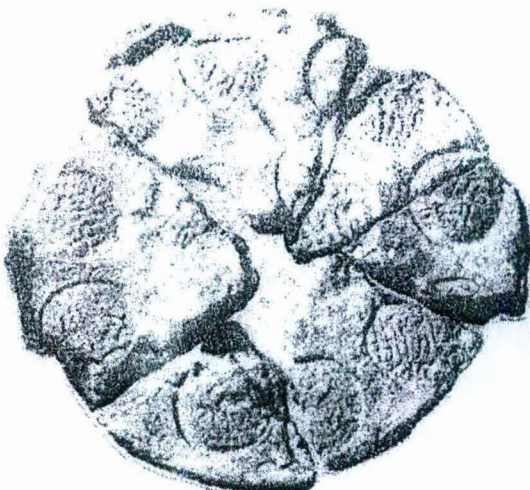
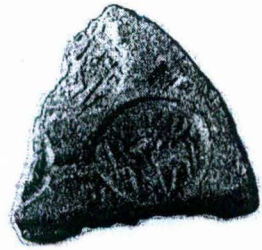


Fig. 6

